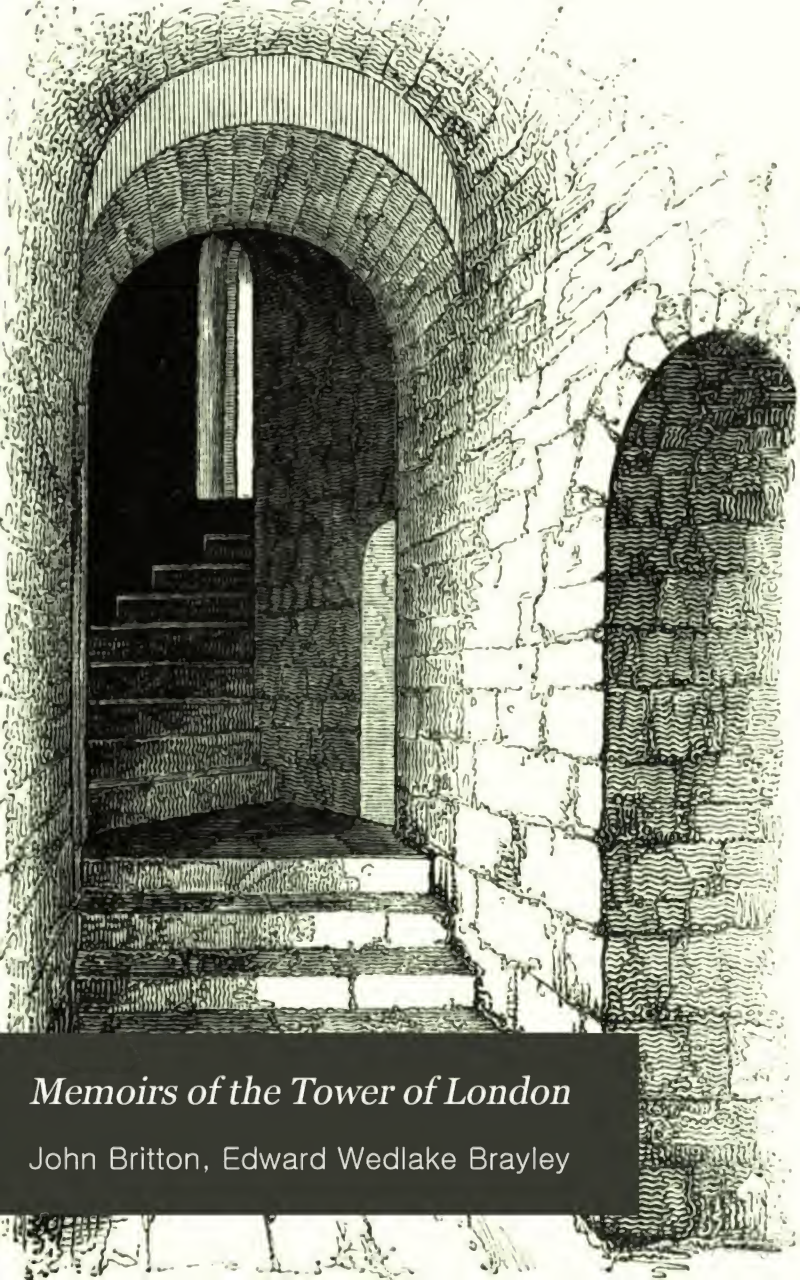
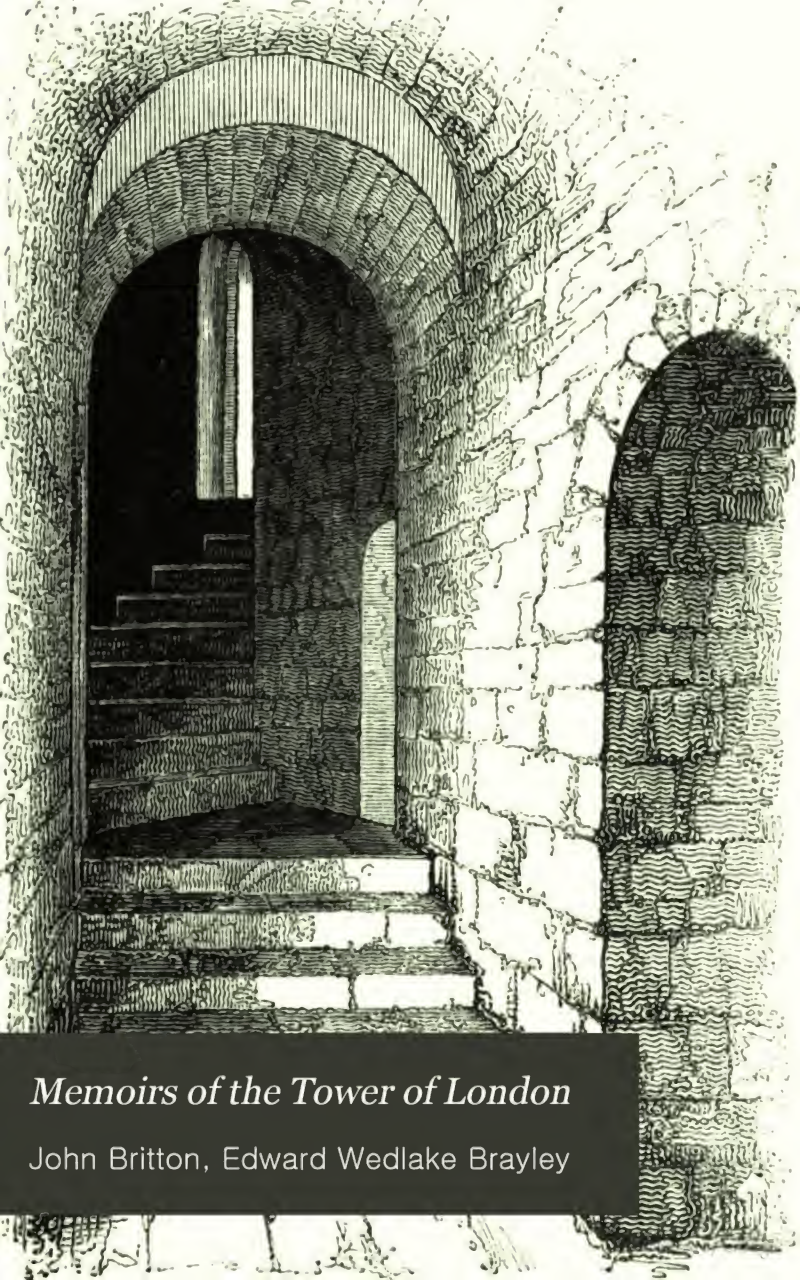


Memoirs of the Tower of London

John Britton, Edward Wedlake Brayley



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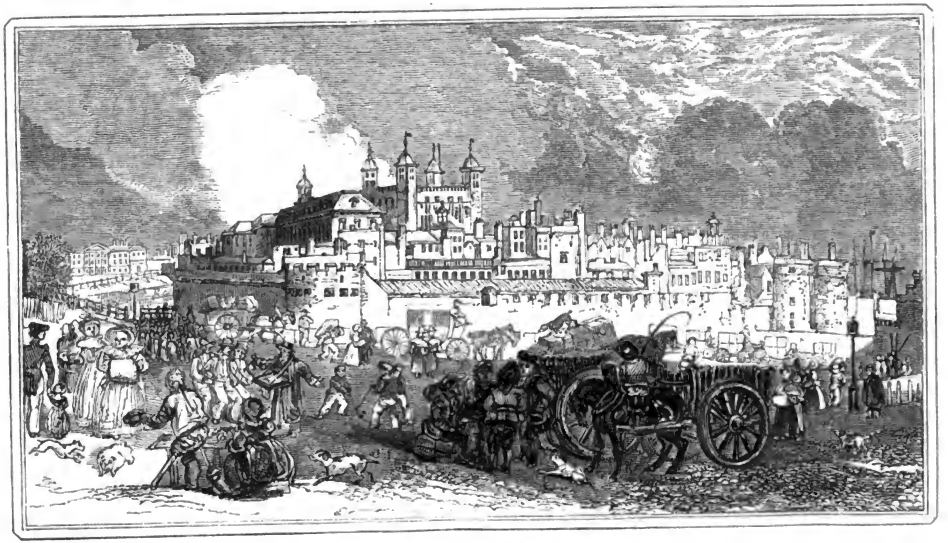

General View of the Tower from the North West.

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MEMOIRS

OF

THE TOWER OF LONDON:

COMPRISING

HISTORICAL AND DESCRIPTIVE ACCOUNTS

OF THAT NATIONAL

Fortress and Palace:

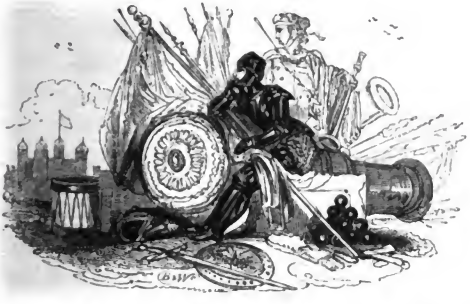
ANECDOTES OF STATE PRISONERS:—OF THE ARMOURIES:—
JEWELS:—REGALIA:—RECORDS:—MENAGERIE, &c.

BY

JOHN BRITTON AND E. W. BRAYLEY,

Fellows of the Society of Antiquaries,
&c. &c. &c.

EMBELLISHED WITH A SERIES OF ENGRAVINGS ON WOOD,
BY BRANSTON AND WRIGHT.



"I AM COME TO SURVEY THE TOWER THIS DAY."—
Shakspeare. Hen. IV.

LONDON:

HURST, CHANCE, AND CO., ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD.

1830.

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TO

HIS GRACE

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON,

&c. &c. &c.

MY LORD DUKE,

ALTHOUGH in these "piping times of peace," and in an age like this, the *Constableship* of the TOWER OF LONDON be more regarded as a station of honour and personal compliment, than of actual service and duty, yet, in the "olden times," when domestic faction and internal strife spread their baleful influence over the land, it was a trust of pre-eminent responsibility. Of these truths, the "*Memoirs*" now submitted to the public, under the patronage of your Grace, furnish an incontestible illustration. They also prove, that this Fortress, when considered in its three-fold character,—namely, as a tower of strength, a royal palace, and a state prison,—is intimately connected with events of the highest political importance; events, which are alike calculated to display the manners and opinions of our ancestors; and by the versatility they exhibit, both in the fortunes of Royalty, and in the condition of the Nobility and People, "to point a moral and adorn a tale."

Renowned and honoured for the noble exploits achieved by your Grace in the recent wars of Europe, your illustrious Name has been recorded in the

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annals of every civilized nation throughout the globe; and it will be equally blazoned in the imperishable records of History, for the arduous and successful struggle which your Grace had to encounter in the British Parliament, to obtain union and harmony among a people who had been opposed in religious opinions for a long series of years.

Thus, both in the Cabinet and in the Field, the deeds of a Wellington have evinced superior determination. It remains only, that the like zeal, intrepidity, and talent, which have so successfully entwined the Hero's laurels with the Statesman's civic crown, be still exerted in the grand cause of National improvement and happiness, to exalt the fame of your Grace to the highest point of human greatness. That such eminence may be attained; and that the proud Pyramid upon which your renown and acts shall then be inscribed, may become a stimulus to noble minds through all succeeding ages, is the fervent and united Prayer of

Your Grace's obedient Servants,

J. BRITTON AND E. W. BRAYLEY.

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INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

THE history of man, whether in a civilized, or in a savage state, shews that he has been perpetually engaged in warfare with his species. From the earliest ages of the world to the present time, strife and bloodshed form the burthen of the annals of all nations. The sacred writings are replete with accounts of "Wars and rumours of Wars." Slaughter was carried on incessantly. Whilst Goliah slew "thousands," David killed "tens of thousands." The wars of the Jews are fearfully detailed by Josephus. Homer, perhaps more poetically than veraciously, has narrated those of the Trojans and the Greeks. The Egyptians, the Babylonians, the Medes, and the Persians,—indeed all heathen nations,—seem to have studied the arts of war in preference to those of peace. Even the Christians, whose creed inculcates "peace and good-will towards men," have too often engaged in the same career of carnage, and massacred their fellow men "in the name of God," and "for the love of Heaven." Nothing can be more tremendously horrible to the man of true humanity, than religious warfare. In the Crusades the violence of fanaticism was united to the frenzy of madness;—

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but to what end?—The Religion inculcated at the point of the sword is not likely to produce willing converts; nor is success a proof that the Conqueror is right in his own doctrines.

Monarchs and rulers in former ages have always built and lived in *Castles;* hence towers, dungeons, and fortresses have grown up with cities and towns. Babylon, Jerusalem, Athens, Alexandria, Rome,—all foreign as well as English cities,—were either surrounded by fortified walls, or otherwise guarded by citadels and strong holds. London, York, Canterbury, Winchester, with all Roman stations, and other royal towns, which were afterwards occupied as Saxon and Norman cities, were protected by military works of defence. That the *Londinium* of the Romans was at once a fortress, a fort, and a municipium, is attested by the best informed historians and antiquaries; and that the site of the present *Tower* would be the most likely spot to be chosen for a place of defence, is deducible from its situation. It is a tract of land gently raised above the river, the Essex marshes, and those on the opposite side of the Thames, where a fortification was afterwards formed by the Saxons, and called *South-Wark.*

From the Norman era up to the present time, this fortress has alternately fluctuated in the prosperity and adversity of successive ages. At one time it was the scene of regal festivities and splendour, at another, of conflict and slaughter—sometimes the prison of Kings and Queens, and at others, of the most illustrious nobles and prelates. The gorgeous and splendid tournament graced its courts, on one day; but rejoicings, merry-makings, and carousals, were speedily followed by incarcerations, tortures, and murders. Such are the

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indexes of its memoirs,—such the contrasts and vicissitudes of its "eventful history."

It is figuratively said that "walls have ears,"—had they also tongues to discourse, what tales could they narrate of this fortress,—what doleful and appalling events unfold, of human privations and sufferings,—of the tyranny of power, and the endurance of the oppressed,—of the merciless vindictiveness of one, and the profound fortitude, philosophy, and dignity of another! There is not, indeed, throughout the whole extent of Great Britain, a single Palace, Citadel, or Prison, that when considered under all its relations, and as respects both Sovereign and People, can be placed in comparison with the Tower of London! Well might the ingenious author of "*Babylon the Great*" thus delineate its ancient character, in combination with the changes which time and circumstances have produced, and which have levelled the gorgeous halls of Kings with the dust, and reduced the chivalric splendours of our Edwards and our Henries into a mockery and a show.

"The cumbrous and gloomy masses of the Tower, with their tarnished walls and mud-choked ditch, speak alike of crimes that have been perpetrated, of glories that have passed away, and of new grandeurs and new usages that have arisen. There, the once gorgeous halls, in which Kings have issued their mandates, and nobles bowed the knee, are now converted into store-houses for those warlike instruments which England wields with such power and success, when justice, or vengeance, or pride, or folly, or any of the other incentives to national strife, calls her to the battle-field. Within those vaults in which royal captives have been confined,

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and where the blood of kings has wetted the knife of the assassin, pieces of ordnance peacefully cumber the floor, or the walls ring with neglected bucklers and cast-off cuirasses; and those courts, which once were grand with the chivalry of England, and graced with all the beauty of her loftiest dames, are now abandoned to the loitering yeoman, or the solitary centinel.—Those neighbouring streets, too, in which once stood the choicest abodes of the gay and the fashionable, are now given up to the humblest of the people. Every where, in short, in and about this ancient abode of royal state, neglect has taken place of admiration, vulgar industry has come in the room of courtly sport, and in many instances squalour has usurped the old inheritance of splendour. Even here, however, there is a lesson which is cheering as well as moral:—the place where plots were afore-time hatched, as well against the safety of the Kings of England, as against the liberties and lives of their subjects,—where patriotism has been immured from the light of the sun,—and where blood, too pure and ardent in its love of man for the age, has been spilt, is now devoted to the peaceful, the exhilirating, and the enriching labours of commerce. Royalty has sped westward, and all that is called fashionable in life has followed; but old Father Thames still sweeps along by the Tower, and the burthen of his every wave is provision to a thousand of the human race. The great may shift their places of abode, and alter the forms of their observances; but wherever nature places the grand elements of utility, thither will mankind throng and prosper."

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The AUTHORS of the present volume deem it necessary to explain their reasons for undertaking it, as well as to state a few circumstances on the mode of its execution. Occupied, as they have been for many years, in topographical and antiquarian publications, and having written much on the Public Buildings of London, they were solicited by the respectable Proprietors of the work on "The Tower Menagerie," to revise and prepare for the press, a mass of Manuscripts, which had been designed for publication by a gentleman who has long been resident in the Tower, and from which they required a volume to be composed, of moderate size and price, on the general history of that fortress, in order to connect with, and accompany the work they had before appropriated to the Menagerie.—For some time, from a desire to avoid every thing like an appearance of rivalry with Mr. Bayley's large and handsome publication on the same subject, the Authors declined the undertaking; yet, on its being urged that the contemplated volume was intended for a distinct class of purchasers, that the embellishments would be in a different style of art, and that the new arrangements in the armouries rendered an accurate description necessary in respect to the contents of those repositories, they at length agreed to undertake the revision of the Manuscripts above-mentioned. But, on an attentive examination of the subject, it was discovered, that numerous facts, of varied degrees of importance relating to the Tower, were scattered through the published chronicles and histories, and in public archives, which had never been applied to this specific place and purpose. The Authors, therefore, resolved to make the collection entrusted to them, the basis of a *new work*, and to con-

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centrate, from every available source, whatever authentic information respecting this fortress could be found in the numerous volumes and manuscripts here alluded to.—In the execution of their task, they have to tender their acknowledgments, for various assistance, to *Joseph Jackson, Esq.*, *Joseph Wright, Esq.*, and *Robert Porrett, Esq.* of the Tower, and to *Mr. John Baker*; the latter gentleman, a relation and protegée of the discriminating historian of Northamptonshire, is likely to do credit to his preceptor and friend. To *Dr. Meyrick*, also, the discriminating historian of Ancient Armour, they are indebted for some judicious and authentic information respecting those departments in the Tower which are appropriated to the display and preservation of the arms and armour of former ages. Under his superintendence, the *Horse Armoury* has been entirely re-arranged, and the articles it contains have been assigned to their proper dates and true owners, so far as the latter could be ascertained.

It may be proper to remark, that the Authors do not arrogate any particular merit for the laborious references, and cautious attention to facts and authorities, which must be apparent in almost every page of this small volume; yet, they are aware that it is not usual to be so copious in notes: on the contrary, writers are too frequently in the practice of either omitting their authorities entirely, or of making them so loosely and carelessly, that it becomes difficult, and often impracticable, for readers to find the true sources of information. It is not uncommon to find a note occupied by the single name of "Stukeley," "Leland," or "Camden," &c., although it is well known that the volumes and pages of each of those valuable historians are numerous,

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and are also of different editions. On this, as on former occasions, the authors of the present volume have endeavoured to make the references so clear and explicit, that the reader may readily find the book, the edition, and the page referred to.

It would have been an easy task, by a more general introduction of biographical and historical anecdote, to have made this work double its present size, and have thereby rendered it more amusing, and more generally interesting,—but the proprietors prescribed the limits; they wished to make it a cheap volume, in order that it might be attainable by every class of purchasers; and with that view, it has been confined to the extent which it now assumes. It is offered to the public as a brief review of the history and characteristics of a Fortress, Palace, and Arsenal, which for centuries has been a scene of pre-eminent interest in the annals of the nation.

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Charges for visiting the different parts of the Tower, which are usually shewn to Strangers.

The Sums charged for the inspection of the *Armouries* within the Tower, and which include the Spanish Armoury, the Horse Armoury, the Volunteer Armoury, &c. in the White Tower, and the Small Armoury, is two shillings each person for admittance, and one shilling for each person to the attendant warder.

The admission to the *Jewel Office* is two shillings each person, and one shilling to the attendant warder, for each company.

At the *Royal Menagerie*, one shilling is paid for admission by every visitor.—The above are the only parts of the Tower which are permitted to be shewn, without especial permission.

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Engraved by E. Finden

The Tower 1670.

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MEMOIRS

OF

The Tower of London.

"MEMORIAL PROUD OF DAYS SUBLIME,
WHOSE SPLENDOR MARKS THE POWER OF TIME."
PEACOCK.

CHAPTER I.

HISTORICAL EVENTS FROM THE FOUNDATION OF THE TOWER OF LONDON, TO THE PRESENT TIME: CHRONOLOGICALLY ARRANGED.

THE history of an antient fortress, like that of the Tower of London, involves many facts and considerations necessarily connected with the origin and establishment of cities—the progress and fluctuations of civilized society—the annals of warfare and politics, and the germs of national history, as sown in, or proceeding from, a given spot. Its memoirs, partaking strongly of the romantic, the chivalrous, and the impassioned, cannot fail to excite the curiosity and sympathy of the reader; and as the

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narrative is, or ought to be, founded on the firm basis of record, it carries verity, force, and confidence in its statements. To appreciate fully, and understand clearly, the due importance of such a history, the reader must detach his mind from all views of the present state of things, and endeavour to penetrate the mists of ancient times. He will then find, that man was constantly contending with his fellow man for dominion and power; that warfare and self-defence were the chief studies and pursuits of individuals, and of nations; and that every town and dwelling house was built, rather for security and protection, than for the comforts or luxuries of life. The History of the Tower of London will at once verify and exemplify these remarks.

Tradition ascribes to Julius Cæsar the erection of a fortress on the site now occupied by the Tower, and Leland,[1] Pennant,[2] and other writers, adopt and sanction this opinion; but it is certain that the Roman general did not remain long enough in this part of the island to have erected any permanent edifice of defence; and if such had been the case, so remarkable a fact would not have passed unnoticed in his Commentaries. Dr. Stukeley conjectures that a citadel was raised here, about the time of Constantine the Great;[3] and, on this supposition, has introduced into a map of London, as supposed to have been laid out in the time of the Romans, the representation of a fort, which he terms the *Arx Palatina*.[4] But as his opinion is grounded on the semi-circular form of the

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[1] Itinerary, edit. 1744, Vol. viii. p. 32.

[2] Account of London, ed. 1805, p. 241.

[3] Stonehenge, fol. edit. 1740, p. 8.

[4] Itinerarium Curiosum, fol. ed. 1774, p. 112.

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east end of the Chapel, in the White Tower, the fallacy of such reasoning must be evident to every person who has any knowledge of history, or of architecture. Dr. Milles, Dean of Exeter, and President of the Society of Antiquaries, says "the Tower of London was undoubtedly the *capital fortress* of the Romans; it was their *Treasury* as well as their *Mint*." His authority for this assertion, was the discovery of three coins of the Emperors Honorius and Arcadius, with other Roman Antiquities, in digging foundations for a new Ordnance Office.[5] These memorials of the Romans imply, that the site of the present building had either been occupied by those invaders, or that they were domiciliated in the neighbourhood: and it must be allowed that no spot was more likely to have been fixed upon, for the erection of a fortress to guard the approach to the station by the Thames, although no contemporary historian, or modern author, on whom reliance can be placed, has mentioned the construction of any Roman fortification in this part of London. The non-existence of such a structure, after the extinction of the Imperial power in Britain, may be presumed, from the silence of the writer of the Saxon Chronicle, and other early annalists, who, although they make frequent allusion to the City, Port, and Walls of London, during the wars of the Danes and Saxons, do not mention the Tower, or any fortress in that situation, previous to the time of the Norman invasion.

We are informed by the "Textus Roffensis,"[6] that

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[5] Archæologia, Vol. v. p. 295, in which are engravings of the articles found, and a dissertation on the subjects delineated.

[6] Ed. Hearnei, p. 212.

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the present *Great*, or *White Tower* was constructed by Gundulph, Bishop of Rochester, under the direction of King William the First, who was suspicious of the fidelity of the citizens. The date assigned by Stow[7] is 1078: and that author further asserts, that it was erected on the site of a fortress, which had been previously built by the same monarch, and destroyed by the flux and reflux of the tides;[8] but Mr. Bayley, the learned historian of the Tower,[9] is of opinion, that the works were not commenced until two or three years subsequent to the above date.

We are informed that, the buildings having been injured by a tempest in 1092,[10] repairs and additional fortifications were commenced, five years afterwards, by William Rufus, who very much oppressed his subjects, by the taxes which he levied upon them, for the completion of the fortress.[11]

Henry the First continued, if he did not complete, what his predecessor had begun: in the first year of his reign, the Tower appears to have been used as a *state prison;* for Ralph Flambard, the turbulent Bishop

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[7] Survey of London, ed. 1618, p. 73.

[8] That the present building was constructed on the site of one still more ancient, is evident from the discovery of old foundations, on the south side of the *White Tower*, in 1720; and again in 1777. See Pennant's Account of London, ed. 1805, p. 241; and Archæologia, Vol. v. p. 295.

[9] History and Antiquities of the Tower, Vol. i. pp. 6, 107.

[10] Pennant, ut supra, p. 242.

[11] Saxon Chronicle, (translated by Ingram,) p. 317. According to Pennant, (ut supra, p. 243,) a portion of the new buildings constructed by Rufus, was a castellated edifice between the White Tower and the Thames, afterwards called *Saint Thomas' Tower*.

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of Durham, having escaped thence into Normandy in the succeeding year, instigated Robert Curthose to make an attempt to obtain the crown of England.[12] It is probable, that further additions were made to the outworks of the Tower in the reign of King Stephen, who, we are informed by William of Malmesbury,[13] held his court here in 1140, when the successful arms of the Empress Maud had compelled him to seek protection within its walls. About the same time, Geoffry de Mandeville, to whom the custody of this fortress had descended by hereditary right, from Geoffry, his grandfather, was raised by Stephen, to the Earldom of Essex; and having shortly afterwards espoused the cause of the Empress, was empowered by her to hold to his own use, the "Tower of London with the *Castle under it*, which belonged to Ravenger," and to strengthen and fortify it at his pleasure.[14] Of this permission, he appears to have taken advantage, and, according to Leland,[15] made considerable additions to the fortifications: and although

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[12] Sax. Chron. (Ingram,) pp. 320, 323. The manner of his escape is thus recited by *Ordericus Vitalis*, in "Hist. Normann. Script." sub anno 1101. Having an allowance from the King of ij^{s}. per day, he was enabled to keep a sumptuous table for himself and his keepers, whose suspicions were lulled by his jovial disposition. A rope was conveyed to him in a vessel of wine;—the present was hailed with joy, and his unwary guardians partook freely of the liquor. He saw them yield to drunkenness and sleep, and then fastening the rope to a column, or bar in the window, descended to the ground, where horses were in readiness to assist his flight.

[13] Scriptores post Bedam, ed. 1601, p. 186.

[14] Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. i. p. 201.—See note 11.

[15] Collectanea, ed. 1774, Vol. i. p. 280.

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besieged by the Citizens, on behalf of King Stephen, he retained possession until 1143, when he was taken prisoner, at St. Albans, and compelled to surrender it, together with his other possessions.[16] Thus reverting to the Crown, it was, ten years afterwards, conveyed to Richard de Lucy, the chief justiciary of England, in trust for Henry, Duke of Normandy, to whom, after Stephen's decease, it descended.[17] William Fitz-Stephen, who wrote a description of London, in Henry the Second's reign, describes the Tower, or, as he terms it, the *arx palatina*,[18] standing east of the City, as "a fortress both large and strong, the walls and body of which are erected upon deep foundations, and built with a cement tempered with the blood of beasts."[19]

According to Roger Wendover, the Tower was again repaired by Thomas à Becket in 1155; and it is stated by Holinshed,[20] that its custody was one of the first causes of dissention between the King and that arrogant prelate. In 1190, Longchamp, Bishop of Ely, who had been appointed Regent during the crusade of King Richard

[16] Roger Hoveden, in Scriptores post Bedam, p. 488.

[17] Fœdera, ed. 1816, Vol. i. part i. p. 18.

[18] The appellation is derived either from the *Palace* there, or from the peculiar jurisdiction exercised by the governor of the Tower.—Note to Fitz-Stephen, ed. 1772, p. 23.—This building has been mistaken by Camden, in "Britannia," (Gough's ed. 1789, Vol. ii. p. 4.) for another of the same name, on the bank of the river Flete, destroyed before Fitz-Stephen's time.—See also Dugdale's History of St. Paul's, ed. 1818, pp. 4, 5.

[19] It is worthy of remark that the foundations previously referred to in note 8, were of stone, three yards wide, and so strongly cemented, that they were with difficulty removed. Pennant's Account of London, ed. 1805, p. 241.

[20] Chronicles of England, Vol. ii. p. 118.

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the First, strengthened the outworks, and surrounded them with a deep moat, or ditch,[21] into which the water of the Thames was subsequently introduced; but after having sustained a siege, he was compelled to surrender the fortress to Prince John and his partizans. By them it was consigned to the custody of the Archbishop of Rouen, until Richard's return, when it became the royal residence. King John also, during the latter part of his reign, frequently resided here, and added considerably to the fortifications. In 1215 it was besieged by the confederated barons; but the garrison held out until after the signing of Magna Charta, when it was conveyed, in trust, to the Archbishop of Canterbury,[22] by whom it was delivered to Prince Lewis, of France.[23] The Tower was the chief residence of Henry the Third, who in the early part of his reign appears to have bestowed much labour and expense, in repairing the injuries which it had sustained during the turbulent government of his predecessor, and in adorning the chapels, halls, and principal chambers with painting and sculpture. In 1232, he granted the custody to the valiant Hubert de Burgh, Earl of Kent, who, being afterwards disgraced, was deprived of his honours, imprisoned in the fortress of which he had been the keeper, and supplanted in his office by his rival, Peter de Roches, Bishop of

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[21] Matthew Paris, sub anno 1190.—Stow says that he "enclosed the Tower and Castell of London with an outward wall of stone, imbattailed, and also caused a deepe ditch to be cast about the same."—Survey of London, p. 75.

[22] Fœdera, ed. 1816, Vol. i. Part i. p. 133.

[23] Chronicle of Dunstaple, ed. Hearnei, 1733, Vol. i. p. 73.—Lewis had been invited to take possession of the throne.

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Winchester.[24] In 1241, Griffin, eldest son of Llewellin, Prince of Wales, who, together with his son, Llewellin, had been betrayed into Henry's power by the treachery of David, brother to the former, was confined here. Griffin broke his neck in attempting to escape from his prison three years afterwards.[25]

In 1239, the increasing discontents of the Barons urged King Henry the Third to erect a more extended line of fortifications round the Tower; but the works were scarcely completed, when, owing to the badness of the foundations, or, as some say, to an earthquake, "the noble gate-house, with the walls and bulwarks, newly erected, fell down and were utterly destroyed."[26] No sooner were they re-constructed, at an expense of more

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[24] It is stated by Hume (Hist. Eng. ed. 1803, Vol. ii. p. 345,) that the Tower was in the custody of De Burgh in 1223: but Mr. Bayley is of opinion, that it was at that time governed by Pandulph, Bishop of Norwich; because he is said to have entertained here the King of Jerusalem, and the grand master of the Knights Hospitallers, who came to England to seek aid against the Saracens, and who had lodgings provided for them in the Tower, in the year above-mentioned.—Hist. of the Tower, Vol. i. p. 13.

[25] Matthew Paris, sub anno 1241.—The same author informs us, (sub anno 1244,) that Griffin endeavoured to lower himself from the tower in which he was confined, by means of a rope, made of the furniture and clothes of his bed: but being a corpulent man, the rope gave way, and precipitated him to the ground, beneath, where he was found dead the next morning. Llewellin, after the death of his uncle David, escaped into Wales, where he was killed in battle in the succeeding reign. His head was afterwards fixed on a turret of the fortress, which had proved fatal to his father.—Matthew of Westminster, ed. Francof. 1601, p. 314.

[26] Matthew Paris, sub anno 1240.

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than twelve thousand marks, than the occurrence of a like event again levelled them with the ground.[27] During the continuance of the civil commotions, which characterized the latter part of the reign of this weak and irresolute monarch, the Tower was the scene of many important events. In 1258, it was seized by the Barons, and continued in their possession until the beginning of 1261, when the mutual jealousy and distrust which prevailed among them gave Henry an opportunity of recovering it; and on gaining possession, he repaired the outworks, surrounded them with an additional trench, and made every exertion to recover his lost authority. But, notwithstanding his endeavours, he was at different times compelled to seek refuge within its walls, from the hostility of the numerous factions which his own misgovernment had created.

While residing in the Tower, he concluded an agreement with his refractory nobles; and having thus avoided the siege, with which he was threatened, retired into Kent.[28] Finding the Barons still pursuing active measures against him, he returned to London, and gave the Tower in charge to John Mansel, one of his few remaining adherents.[29] He then proceeded to Winchester, where he ascertained that a plan was meditated for the seizure of his person; he therefore returned to London

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[27] Matthew Paris, sub anno 1241. Our author adds that this event was hailed with great joy by the Londoners, who were jealous of the encreasing power of their sovereign, and apprehensive that the Tower had been thus fortified for the purpose of intimidating and confining those who should assert the liberty of their city.

[28] Idem, sub anno 1261. [29] Rot. Pat. 45. Hen. III. m. 11.

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and sought safety in this fortress until the following October,[30] when he was reinstated on his throne. About the middle of the ensuing year he went to Paris, where he remained until Christmas: on his return, he found the whole country in a state of insurrection, and once more was compelled to shut himself up, with his family and council, in the Tower.[31] Here he was shortly afterwards reduced to the humiliating necessity of surrendering this, together with his other castles, to the baronial leaders; and of agreeing to the banishment of all aliens who were obnoxious to them.[32] This latter condition was peculiarly offensive to the Queen, Eleanor of Provence, who, before the barons entered the Tower, had left it in a barge, intending to go by water to Windsor; but on her approaching London Bridge, the rabble there collected, attacked her with the most violent exclamations and reproaches, and endeavoured to sink the boat with stones and other missiles. For personal safety she was compelled to return to the Tower.[33] The Barons having gained possession of the fort, gave it in custody to Hugh le Despenser, by whom it was held until the fortunate issue of the battle of Evesham, in 1264, enabled the King to resume the exercise of his authority;[34] when it was fortified and successively granted by him, in the same year, to Roger de Leyburn, and Hugh Fitz-Otho.[35]

These tumults had scarcely subsided, when the tran-

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[30] Matthew Paris, sub anno 1261.

[31] Matthew of Westminster, ed. Francof. 1601, pp. 378-9.

[32] Chronicle of Dunstaple, ed. Hearnei, 1733, Vol. i. p. 358.

[33] Matthew of Westminster, ut supra, p. 383.

[34] Ibid. p. 395. [35] Rot. Pat. 49 Hen. III., m. 4.

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quillity of the kingdom was again disturbed by Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, who, having obtained possession of the City of London, summoned Otho, the Papal Legate, who then resided in the Tower, to an immediate surrender; alleging "that it it was a post not to be trusted in the hands of a foreigner, much less of an ecclesiastic." To this, the Legate returned an answer of defiance, in consequence of which, immediate measures were taken for cutting off the supplies of the garrison, and the place was afterwards formally besieged. In the meantime, Otho ventured to visit St. Paul's, and, under pretence of preaching in favour of the crusade, launched forth into bitter invectives against the Earl and his adherents, who were present. With some difficulty he returned to the Tower, and successfully defended it against the attempts of the besiegers, until he was succoured by the Royal army.[36]

When peace was again restored, Prince Edward assumed the cross, and on his father's decease while he was abroad, the custody of the Tower was committed to the Archbishop of York until his return.[37]

Edward the First, (although he seldom occupied the Tower, as a residence,) completed the works which had been begun by his father, enlarged the ditch by which they were surrounded, and erected some additional fortifications, to the west.[38] These Mr. Bayley considers

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[36] Matthew of Westminster, pp. 398, et seq.—The same author also mentions the valiant manner in which a number of Jews, who had been permitted to enter the Tower, defended one of the wards which had been committed to their charge.

[37] Rot. Liberat. in Turre, A° 1 Edw. I. m. 4.

[38] Stow quotes a record of Edward the First, commanding the

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the last works of importance ever made to the fortress.[39] During this reign, the Tower was chiefly used as a state prison, and various events contributed to afford an almost constant succession of captives. Of the Jews, who about this time were subject to the most grievous oppressions and extortions, no less than six hundred were immured within these walls in 1278, on the charge of defacing the coin of the realm.[40] The final subjugation of Wales by Edward the First, occasioned the confinement of many of those patriots, who had vainly endeavoured to defend their country, and guard its independence. The judges and other public officers of that age were so venal and corrupt, that many persons were unjustly sentenced to the Tower, and their numbers were increased by the imprisonment of the Scottish nobles and chieftains, who had opposed Edward's project for the

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Treasurer and Chamberlain of the Exchequer "to deliver unto Miles of Andwarp, (Antwerp) 200 marks, towards the worke of the ditch, then new made about the bulwarke, now called the *Lion Tower*."—Survey of London, p. 76.

[39] History of the Tower, Vol. i. p. 24.—In the Dunthorne Book, fol. 80., (quoted by Maitland in his History of London, Vol. ii. p. 1019,) it is stated that Edward the First not having sufficient land near the Tower for the erection of the wall, and the completion of the ditch which he purposed to make, purchased from the Brethren of Saint Katharine's, a piece of ground in East Smithfield, "both for the laying of the sand, gravel, and marle, which should be digged out of the ditch, and that which should serve for the repairing of the wall aforesaid." For this land, and as a consideration for the loss which the Brethren had previously sustained, by the enlargement of the outworks, he is said to have granted to them the yearly sum of six marks, six shillings, and nine pence.

[40] Matthew of Westminster, ed. Francof. 1601, p. 409.

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conquest of Scotland. In 1288, Thomas Weiland, Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, was committed for murder, and, having chosen banishment in preference to perpetual confinement, "was conveyed bare-footed and bare-headed, having a cross in his hand, from the Tower to Dover."[41]

Ralph de Hengham, Chief Justice of the King's Bench, with many other Judges, and Robert Lithbury, Master of the Rolls, were also imprisoned here in 1289, for criminal partiality in the discharge of their offices; but were subsequently released, on payment of heavy fines.[42] After the battle of Dunbar, in 1296, which proved so disastrous to the Scottish army, the Earls of Athol, Menteith, and Ross, and many other distinguished knights who had been taken prisoners, were confined in this fortress, together with their pusillanimous Sovereign, Baliol.[43] In the succeeding year, Edward, son of King Baliol, Alexander, son of the Earl of Mar, Robert de Strathern, and other Scottish leaders, shared the same fate;[44] and, in 1305, the brave, but unfortunate, William Wallace, was consigned to one of its dungeons by the treachery of Menteith.[45] The ignominious death to which this gallant chief was doomed, is thus poetically alluded to in the following barbarous verses:

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[41] Chronicle of Dunstaple, ed. Hearnei, 1733, Vol. ii. p. 575.

[42] Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. ii. p. 491.

[43] Fœdera, ed. 1816, Vol. i. part ii. p. 841. The greater number of these prisoners were set at liberty in the following year, upon condition of serving in the English army in France. Baliol, after three years' confinement, was released through the intercession of the Pope.

[44] Rot. Claus. in Turre, 26 Edw. I. m. 17.

[45] Matthew of Westminster, ed. Francof. 1601, p. 451.

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" With feters and with gyues ichot he wos to drowe,
Ffrom the *tour* of Londone that monie myght knowe,
In a curtel of burel aselkethe wyse
Thurh Cheepe;
And a gerland on hys heued of the newe guyse:
Monimon of Enge — for hym to se
Thideward com lepe.
Tho he com to galewes, furst he wos an honge,
Al qc. beheued, thah him thohte longe;
Seththe he was yopened, is boweles ybrend,
The heued to Londone brugge wos send,
To shonde."[46]

Harl. M.S. No. 2255, *fol.* 61. *a. Brit. Mus.*

At the battle of St. John's Town, in 1306, the Earl of Athol once more became the captive to the successful Edward, and was again conveyed to the Tower; where, after a short confinement, he was put to death, together with his fellow-prisoners and countrymen, Sir Simon Fraser, and Sir Christopher Setoun.[47] Their heads were afterwards fixed, first upon the turrets of the Tower, and afterwards upon London Bridge; that of the Earl of Athol, in compliment to his superior rank, being placed in a more elevated situation than the others.

The Tower dungeons were also occupied about this time by a number of persons whose offences were of a

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[46] The literal meaning of this almost unintelligible jargon, is—that he was drawn from the Tower to Cheapside in fetters: habited in a short coat of coarse cloth, having on his head a garland of the last fashion;—that many of the English ran to see him, and that when he came to the gallows, he was first hung, then beheaded, which he thought long first; that he was afterwards opened, his bowels burnt, and his head set on London Bridge to affright beholders.

[47] Matthew of Westminster, ed. Francof. 1601, p. 455.

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very different nature. These were, the Abbot of Westminster, with forty-eight of his monks, and thirty-two others, who were suspected of having robbed the Treasury of more than one hundred thousand pounds. Twelve of the Monks, against whom suspicions were entertained, were kept two years in prison; but were eventually pardoned by the king.[48]

Edward the Second seldom resided in this palace, yet he issued many orders for keeping it in a state of defence; but although surveyors and clerks of the works were appointed,[49] the additions or repairs during his government do not appear to have been material.[50] Early in Edward's reign was dissolved the Order of the Knights Templars, when all those knights who were found south of the Trent were committed to the Tower,[51] where the master of that distinguished Order ended his days.[52] Between the first and fourteenth years of this King's government, many Scotch, Welch, and Gascon knights were, for various offences, condemned to this gloomy abode. Of these, some died, others were put to death, but the greater number escaped on payment of heavy fines.[53] The Barons, who had long expressed their dissatisfaction of the lax mode of government adopted by

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[48] Fœdera, ed. 1816, Vol. i. part i. p. 959.

[49] Rot. Orig. in Scac. 13 Edw. II. r. 6. and 17 Edw. II.

[50] In 1316, the citizens of London having pulled down a mud wall between the Tower ditch and the City, (said to have been constructed in the time of Henry the Third,) were fined one thousand marks, and compelled to restore the same.—Rot. Orig. 20 Edw. II. r. 15.

[51] Fœdera, Vol. i pt. ii. pp. 90, 91. [52] Ibid. pt. i. p. 198.

[53] Bayley's History of the Tower, from the Constable's accounts, between the 1st and 14th of Edw. II.

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the King, now broke out into open insurrection, and Edward was by their confederacy reduced to a state of the most abject degradation, from which he was relieved by the following accidental circumstance. Having accompanied his Queen on a pilgrimage to the Shrine of Thomas à Becket, at Canterbury, they were, on their return, necessitated to demand a night's lodging at the Castle of Leedes, in Kent. Lady Badlesmere, in the absence of her lord, not only refused to accommodate the royal party, but caused many of the servants to be put to death. After so flagrant a breach of hospitality, the King readily obtained the aid of his subjects to attack and subdue the Castle; having taken which, he hanged the governor, and sent Lady Badlesmere and some of her family, as prisoners, to the Tower. Edward also lodged his Queen and her attendants in the Tower, for safety, and then hastened towards the Marches of Wales, against his discontented nobles.[54] The enterprize was successful; and many of the most powerful leaders were made prisoners and conveyed to this fortress. Among them were the two Lords Mortimer, of Wigmore and of Chirk; the former of whom was condemned to be hung, drawn, and quartered, but his sentence was afterwards commuted for perpetual imprisonment. While under restraint, his friends devised a scheme for the seizure of the Tower, and the liberation of its inmates;[55] but this plan having failed, Mortimer

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[54] Holinshed's Chronicle of England, Vol. ii. 562-3. During her residence in this fortress, the Queen was brought to bed of her eldest daughter, called Jane of the Tower, who married David Bruce, King of Scotland, in 1327.

[55] Fœdera, ed. 1816, Vol. ii. part i. pp. 514, 537.

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effected his escape, fled to France, and, subsequently, headed the conspiracy by which Edward was deprived of his crown and of his life.[56]

On the approach of the army, in 1326, led by Mortimer and the Queen, the unfortunate King retired to the Tower, where he summoned the City authorities to his aid; but having failed in his endeavours to excite them to make exertions in his behalf, he garrisoned and fortified it:[57] and leaving therein his son, John of Eltham, and his niece, the wife of the Lord Chamberlain, he hastened towards the Marches of Wales, to raise a force for the defence of his person and his crown.[58] In the meantime the enemy entered the City of London, beheaded the Bishop of Exeter, who had been appointed governor, and eventually seized Sir John Weston, the Constable of the Tower, from whom they took the keys, and thus gained possession of one of the few strong

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[56] Stephen de Segrave, Constable of the Tower at the time of Mortimer's escape, was charged with conniving thereat. On his trial he pleaded that it was not with his assent or knowledge that Mortimer obtained his liberty, "but that he was deceived by a valet in whom he trusted as in himself, and who with the said Roger made a certain drink, which they gave to the keepers under the said Stephen, by the effect of which, they fell into such a sleep, that the watches were not duly kept upon the said Mortimer, and, in the meantime, he, together with the said valet, escaped."—Plac. Abbrev. 17 Edw. II. p. ii. m. 37.—This plea, however, availed him not. He was removed from his office, and the Bishop of Exeter was appointed in his stead.—Rot. Claus. 17 Edw. II. m. 39.

[57] Fœdera, ed. 1816, Vol. ii. pt. i. p. 631.

[58] Bayley's Hist. of the Tower, Vol. i. p. 27, from Rot. Claus. in Turre, 19 Edw. II. m. 16, and 20 Edw. II. m. 4.

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holds, the governors of which remained faithful to the royal cause.[59] The insurgents then released the prisoners confined in the Tower, expelled the King's officers, and granted its custody to the citizens of London.[60]

These events were succeeded by the King's death, and the accession of the third Edward to the throne of his murdered father. One of the first acts of his sovereignty was the seizure of Sir Roger Mortimer, who was conveyed, with his two sons and other associates, to these dreaded cells, and thence to the gallows.[61] In 1326, the buildings of this antient edifice being out of repair, commissioners were appointed to survey them, and to make such alterations and additions as were deemed necessary.[62] In the following year, orders were issued for making many improvements in the buildings: and after their completion, Edward, who had spent much of the earlier part of his life within this fortress, frequently resided in, and held his court there; more especially during the year 1327, and the commencement of 1328, while making preparations for the enforcement of his claim to the throne of France.[63] In the latter year he left England; and on his second

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[59] Holinshed's Chronicle of England, Vol. ii. p. 581.

[60] Sire Johan de Gisores et Richard de Betoigne, citoins de Loundres a garder la tour de Loundres, tanq. &c.—Rot. Orig. 20 Edw. II. r. 15.

[61] Knyghton, in Decem Scriptores, col. 2556.

[62] The return to this commission, printed at length in the Appendix to the first volume of Bayley's History of the Tower, contains many interesting notices of buildings not now remaining, and of others, the names of which have been since changed. The estimate for the necessary repairs was £820 : 3s : 4d.

[63] Rot. Pat. 11 and 12 Edw. III.

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return, in 1340, landed privately at the Tower, which he found in such a state of disorder and so badly guarded, that he imprisoned the governor with some inferior officers, and appointed others to their respective posts.[64] During the civil commotions of the ensuing year, the citizens of London refused the King's Justices the privilege of sitting within the civic jurisdiction, they were therefore obliged to hold their court in the Tower.[65] About the same time the Queen was delivered of a daughter in that fortress;[66] and, shortly afterwards, King Edward proceeded thence with his retinue, to join the army in Brittany.[67]

During the remainder of the reign, the Tower was chiefly occupied as a state prison, and the success which attended the English arms in France, Scotland, and elsewhere, tended to fill its cells with persons of distinction. Among these, were the Earls, d'Eu and Tankerville, taken at the siege of Caen in 1346, and confined here, together with three hundred of the richest inhabitants of that city;[68] David Bruce, King of Scotland,[69]

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[64] Fœdera, ed. 1816, Vol. ii. pt. ii. p. 1141, and Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. ii. p. 618.—Amongst the officers who were discharged on Edward's return, was Robert, Bishop of Chichester, the Lord Chancellor, who surrendered the great seal, "in superiori camerâ juxta magnam aulam infra turrem."—Fœdera, ut supra.

[65] Holinshed's Chronicles of England, Vol. ii. p. 620.

[66] Blanche, who died in her infancy, and was buried at Westminster.—Ibid. p. 621.

[67] Rot. Claus. in Turre, annis 15 and 16 Edw. III.

[68] Knyghton, in Decem Scriptores, col. 2586.

[69] Froissart, (Johnes' translation,) Vol. ii. chap. xxxvi.—David was conducted to the Tower under an escort of twenty thousand men: he rode on a black charger; and the streets through

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with the Earls of Carrick, Fife, Murray, Menteith, and Wigtoun, the Lords Douglas, and upwards of fifty other distinguished Scottish leaders, taken by Lord Percy, at the battle of Neville's Cross, in the same year ;[70] and in 1347, John de Vienne, the valiant defender of the town of Calais, with twelve of his brave companions, who became captives to King Edward on the surrender of that fortress,[71] and Charles de Blois, one of the competitors for the Duchy of Brittany, were also confined here.[72] In addition to the prisoners already mentioned, John, King of France, and his son, Philip, who were taken at the battle of Poictiers in 1358, and were for some time kept in honorable captivity at the Savoy Palace, and in Windsor Castle, were removed into the

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which he passed, were thronged with the City Companies, dressed in their respective liveries.—Knyghton, in Decem Scriptores, col. 2595. After eleven years' confinement, he was finally ransomed for one hundred thousand marks.—Rymer's Fœdera, Vol. iv. p. 45.

[70] Froissart (Johnes' translation, Vol. ii. chap. xxxvi.)—The Earls of Menteith and Fife, having taken the oath of allegiance, were sentenced to death, but the latter was pardoned.—Fœdera, ed. 1816, Vol. iii. pt. i. pp. 108, 111. The remaining prisoners were eventually ransomed.—Rymer's Fœdera, Vols. v. and vi. passim.

[71] Knyghton, ut supra, col. 2595.

[72] Although it is stated by Froissart, ut supra, p. 234, that this nobleman was not kept a close prisoner, but allowed to go whither he pleased, provided he slept in the Tower, or in any place where the royal family were ; it is asserted by other authors of equal credit and respectability, that he was strictly guarded for two years ; that he was shut up every night, and only came out in the day-time to walk in the court-yard, when the English soldiers insulted him. It appears from Rymer's Fœdera, Vol. v. pp. 862, 865, that he was liberated in 1356, on payment of 700,000 florins of gold.

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Tower for safer custody, on Edward's departure to France, in the following year.[73] Here they remained, in close confinement, until restored to liberty by the treaty of Bretigny, in 1360. The last prisoner of rank immured in this fortress during the remainder of the reign, was Valeran, Earl of St. Paul, who was taken in a skirmish near Lyques, in 1375.[74]

The events connected with the Tower during the latter years of Edward's government, are unimportant; but the accession of Richard the Second gave rise to some of the most memorable incidents recorded in its history. The festivities and pageantries attendant upon the Coronation, which had been conducted on a scale of the most extended magnificence,[75] were scarcely con-

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[73] Rymer's Fœdera, Vol. vi. p. 173.

[74] Froissart, (Johnes' translation,) Vol. iv. p. 262.—He was subsequently removed to Windsor Castle, but was released, in 1381, on an agreement to pay a ransom of 600,000 franks, half of which sum was remitted, on his marriage with the Princess Maud.

[75] On the day of the Coronation, the King, clad in white robes, issued from the gates of the Tower, accompanied by an immense assemblage of nobles, knights, and esquires. The streets through which he passed were adorned with drapery, the conduits ran wine, and pageants were exhibited in all the principal thoroughfares. Among the latter, was a castle with four towers, stationed in Cheapside; from two sides of this, "the wine ran forth abundantlie, and at the top stood a golden angel, holding a crown, so contrived that, when the King came near, he bowed down and presented it to him. In each of the towers was a beautiful virgin, of stature and age like to the King, apparelled in white vestures, the which blew in the King's face leaves of gold and flowers of gold counterfeit." On the approach of the cavalcade, the damsels took cups of gold, and, filling them with wine at the

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cluded, when an insurrection, headed by Wat Tyler, compelled the King, with his mother and several of the nobility, to seek immediate protection within the walls of that fortress, from which the monarch had shortly before proceeded to receive the crown, attended by every demonstration of the loyalty and attachment of his subjects.[76]

The insurgents assembled on Blackheath, sent a message to the King desiring a conference. Richard, acceding to their request, first heard mass in the Tower, and then sailed down the Thames towards Rotherhithe; but on approaching the shore, beheld such symptoms of rebellion and tumult, that he returned, without even effecting a parley. The infuriated mob then advanced to London, and after committing every species of enormities, quartered themselves in and near St. Katharine's Hospital, and invested the Tower, "at times hooting as loud as if the devils were in them."[77] The besieged held a council, wherein Sir William Walworth, the intrepid mayor of London, recommended a sally while the rebels were asleep and drunk;[78] but this measure being deemed too desperate, the King proposed to meet them at Mile-end, and hear their grievances. He had, however, scarcely quitted the gates for that purpose, when a party of the insurgents, who had been previously concealed, gained admittance into the fortress; and after beheading the Archbishop of Canterbury, Sir Robert

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spouts of the castle, presented them to the King and his nobles. —See Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. ii. p. 713.

[76] Knyghton, in Decem Scriptores, col. 2634.

[77] Froissart (Johnes' translation,) Vol. v. p. 345-6.

[78] Ibid. p. 348.

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Hales and others, who had sought refuge in the chapel, they proceeded to commit other, though lesser enormities;[79] pillaged the royal apartments, and offered the grossest insults to the Queen mother.[80] The happy termination of the conference between Richard and the rebels, is fully detailed by the English historians, as are also the circumstances which led to the death of Wat Tyler, and the final suppression of the insurrection.[81]

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[79] Froissart, by Johnes, Vol. v. p. 350.—Stow, speaking of the Archbishop, says—"his head, those wicked villaines tooke, and nayling thereon his hoode, they fixt it on a pole, and set it on London Bridge."—Survey of London, ed. 1626, p. 93.—He further adds (p. 100,) that after the quelling of the insurrection, "the Archbishop's head was taken downe off the Bridge, and Wat Tiler's head was sett in that place."

[80] Froissart, ut supra, p. 351.—It is stated by Stow, that although there was in the Tower a garrison of twelve hundred men, they were so panic-struck, that they offered no opposition to the rebels, "manie of whome went into the Kynge's Privie Chamber, and plaied the wantons, in sitting, lying, and sporting them on the King's bed. And that which is much more saucily, invited the King's mother to kisse with them."—Survey of London, p. 92.

[81] The following account of this transaction is taken from "A Chronicle of London, from 1089 to 1483," 4to. 1827, p. 73. "And on the morwe after, that is to saye Fryday, and thanne on the Satirday after Corpus Cristi day, the kyng anon after rood into Smythfeld, and William Walworth thanne beynge maire of London, Sr Robert Knolles and also aldermen and othere citezeins of London, with hym: and there they metten with Jake Strawe ledere of the uprysers. And this Jake Strawe spak to the kyng hoded as it hadde bene to his felawe: and John Blyton that bar the maires swerd of London bad hym don of his hode while he spak to the kyng; wherfore Jake Strawe wax an angred, and mynte to caste his daggere to Blyton. And thanne, William Walworth maire of London, drewe his baselard and smot Jake Strawe on the hed: and with that, Rauf Standyssh, that bar

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The troubles of this King's reign were not yet ended, for we find that, in 1387, he was again reduced to the necessity of returning to the Tower, for security against the measures of his patriotic uncle, Gloucester, and other disaffected barons.[82] The weakness and imbecility of Richard's government, and the corruptness of his ministers, had exasperated the people to such a degree, that Gloucester and his partizans found little difficulty in wresting from him the regal authority, and in placing the sovereign power in the charge of commissioners.[83] The King, unwilling to resign his prerogative, summoned a parliament at Nottingham, which declared in his favour. The nobles resorted to arms, and approached the capital with an army of forty thousand men. The Duke of Ireland also assembled a force, for the assistance of his royal master; but, before venturing to London, sent three knights to ascertain the inclinations of the citizens. They were instructed to enter the City by the Thames, and to hoist the royal standard. In compliance with these orders, they proceeded secretly to Kennington, where they left their horses; and, late in the evening, rowed down the river to the Tower, which they entered unobserved by the rebels. The Governor informed them of what was passing in and near the metropolis; and at the same time expressed his fears, that if it were known by the citizens, that they were in the Tower, it would immediately be besieged. On receiving this intelligence, they

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the kynges swerd, roof Jake Strawe thorugh the body with a swerd; and there he fyll doun ded."

[82] Knyghton, in Decem Scriptores, col. 2703.

[83] Ibid. col. 2686.

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resolved to return to Oxford, the head-quarters of the royal army, and, after dark, left the fortress as secretly as they had entered it.[84] The subsequent victory gained at Radcot Bridge by the confederated nobles, over the forces of the Duke of Ireland, for a while subdued the royal authority. Richard hastened to London, and enclosed himself and his family within the walls of the Tower. Here he was besieged: but, through the mediation of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the united leaders agreed to meet him in the council room of that building, there to adjust their mutual differences.[85] Notwithstanding the apparent reconciliation then concluded between them, the monarch never regained either the confidence of his nobles, or of his subjects.

These events were succeeded by the arrest and imprisonment of all those who had espoused the royal cause, or had declared in the King's favor, at the council of Nottingham. Many were fined, others were banished, but the greater number, amongst whom were several of the judges and legal officers, were confined in the Tower.[86] Of the latter, Sir Robert Tresylian, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, Sir Nicholas Brembre, Mayor of London, Sir John Salisbury, Sir John Beauchamp, Sir James Berners, and the accomplished Sir Simon Burley, were subsequently put to death at Tyburn and on Tower Hill.[87]

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[84] Froissart (Johnes' translation,) Vol. viii. p. 348, et seq.

[85] This meeting the confederated Barons at first refused to attend, thinking the King's design was to entrap them; but he dispelled their fears by delivering up to them the keys of the turrets and strong chambers, and by offering to admit a body of two hundred armed men.—Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. ii. p. 792.

[86] Rot. Parl. 11 Rich. II.

[87] Fabian's Chronicle, ed. 1811, p. 534.—Although the Arch-

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In 1389, the King, for the purpose of diverting the popular attention from his past misconduct, and also in honour of the marriage of Charles the Sixth, of France, with Isabel, daughter of the Duke of Bavaria, proclaimed a tournament to be holden at London; on which occasion, in the words of the faithful chronicler, Fabian, "All such persones as came in vpō the kynges party, theyr armour & apparayle was garnysshyd with whyte hertys & crownys of golde about theyr neckys; and of y^{t} sorte were . xxiiij., with . xxiiij. ladyes also apparaylyd as aboue is sayd, lad w^{t} xxiiij cheynys of golde the horses of them, and so cōueyed them thorough the cytie unto Smythfeelde from the Towre of London, where y^{e} kyng, the quene, & many other great astatys beyng present, after proclamacions by the herowdys made, many goodly and marcyall actys of warre were there put in ure, to the great recreacion & comfort of the kynge and quene, & all other beholders of y^{e} same." During the continuance of these sports, many foreign knights, and other persons of distinction, were lodged in the Tower.[88] Seven years afterwards, it was inhabited by the young Queen, Isabella, previously to her coronation;[89] and in 1397, the Duke of Gloucester, who had been treacherously arrested by the King, the Earls of Arundel and

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bishop of Canterbury and others had been executed on Tower Hill during Wat Tyler's rebellion, Sir Simon Burley is supposed to have been the first who was formally sentenced to be beheaded on that spot.—Bayley's Hist. of the Tower, Vol. ii. p. 304.

[88] Fabian's Chronicle, ed. 1811, p. 534—also Froissart, (Johnes' translation,) Vol. x. p. 222, et seq.

[89] Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. ii. p. 334; also Fabian's and Froissart's Chronicles.

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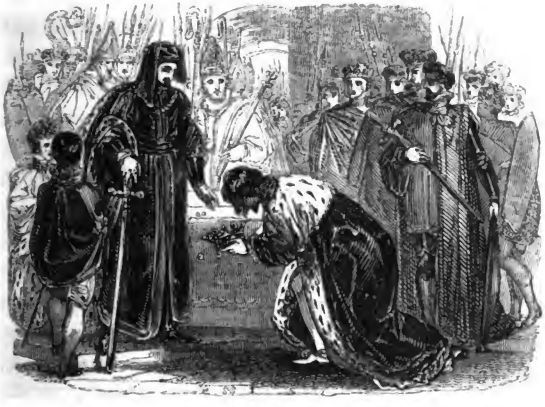

Richard II. resigning the Crown.

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Warwick, Lord John Cobham, and Sir John Cheyney, were sent there as prisoners. Gloucester was afterwards removed to Calais, where he was mysteriously murdered by the royal command: Arundel was beheaded on Tower-Hill, and most of the others were confined for life.[90]

Varied as were the events connected with the Tower during King Richard's turbulent reign, no occurrence was so important as that monarch's resignation of his crown, and subsequent imprisonment within its walls. Having been seized by his rival, Henry of Lancaster, and his followers at Flint Castle, he was conveyed to London, and immured within the Tower cells.[91] While in confinement there, the Lancastrian party gained possession of the persons of Sir Bernard Brocas, the Lord Marclais, Master John Derby, receiver of Lincoln, and Lord Stelle, Steward of the King's Household, who were supposed to have been accessary to the death of the Duke of Gloucester. These were immediately sentenced to death; and having been led into the Court-yard of the Tower, under the window of the room in which the unfortunate King was confined, were tied to horses' tails, and thus dragged to Cheapside, where they

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[90] Fabian's Chronicle, ed. 1811, p. 542.

[91] Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. ii. p. 859.—It is related by Froissart, (Johnes' translation, Vol. xii. p. 141,) that while the King was conversing with Lancaster, after his capture, his favorite greyhound, Math, having been loosed by his keeper, instead of running to the King, as usual, fawned upon the Duke. The latter enquiring the cause of this unusual circumstance, was answered,—"this greyhound fondles and pays his court to you this day as King of England, which you will surely be, and I shall be deposed."

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were beheaded on a fishmonger's stall.[92] Finding that the tide of popular opinion was wholly against him, Richard resolved to resign the emblems of a dignity which he no longer controlled; and, in the council room of the Tower, laid at the feet of his powerful rival, the regal ornaments, and absolved his subjects from their allegiance.[93] He was, however, detained a prisoner until subsequent events decided his fate.

The accession of the Duke of Lancaster to the throne, as Henry IV., having been determined upon by Parliament, Monday, the 13th of October was appointed for his coronation. On the Saturday preceding, he removed to the Tower, where forty-six noblemen and gentlemen were appointed to watch their arms in the Chapel of St. John, previous to their being created, on the Sunday, Knights of the Bath.[94] On the Monday, the Duke, attended by an escort of six thousand Earls, Barons, Knights, and men at arms, proceeded to Westminster, where he was anointed King.[95] Scarcely, however, was he seated on the throne, when the adherents of the deposed monarch entered into a confederacy for releasing him from the Tower, and restoring him to the dignity which he had relinquished. Henry was invited to a tournament, to be holden at Oxford, where the conspirators purposed to have murdered him; but having received timely information of the plot,[96] instead of

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[92] Froissart, (Johnes' translation,) Vol. xii. p. 151.

[93] Cotton's Abridgement of Records, p. 385.

[94] Froissart, ut supra, p. 160.—Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. iii. p. 3.

[95] Froissart, (Johnes' translation,) Vol. xii. p. 160.

[96] This treacherous conspiracy was thus discovered. The Earl

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attending the tournament, he hastened to the Tower, which he garrisoned, and took such active measures for suppressing the rebellion, that he shortly seized most of the leaders and confined them in that fortress to which he had himself been obliged to resort for protection.[97] Richard was shortly afterwards removed to Leedes Castle, in Kent, and thence to Pomfret Castle, in Yorkshire, where he is said to have been murdered.[98]

During the remainder of Henry the IVth's reign, the events connected with this edifice were neither numerous nor important. In 1402, Llewellin ap Madoc Du, a relative and adherent of Owain Glyndwyr, was con-

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of Rutland, one of the conspirators, previously to the intended tournament, visited his father, the Duke of York, having concealed in his bosom a copy of the indenture made between the confederates for the King's murder. This the Duke accidentally noticed, and, having insisted on seeing it, found appended thereto his son's seal. He mounted his horse and rode to Windsor, to inform Henry of his danger. The Earl also hastened to the Castle, and obtained a pardon before his father arrived.

[97] Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. iii. sub anno 1400.—Among the prisoners were the Earl of Huntingdon, Henry's brother-in-law, who, after a few days' confinement, was beheaded without trial; Thomas Merks, Bishop of Carlisle, afterwards removed to the Abbey of Westminster, where he died; Sir John Shelley; and Magdalen, one of Richard's Chaplains, remarkable for his personable resemblance to his royal master.

[98] Holinshed, ut supra.—The remains of the deceased monarch were conveyed from Pomfret to the Tower, and thence to St. Paul's Cathedral, "where," says Froissart, (Johnes' trans. Vol. xii. p. 191,) "he lay, his head upon a black cushion, and his visage open: some had pity on him, and some had none, but said he had long ago deserved death." He was interred at Langley, but was subsequently removed to Westminster Abbey.

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fined within its walls ;[99] and, in the following year, the Prior of the house of Friars Preachers at Winchelsea, and others of the religious orders, were imprisoned there, for endeavouring to excite an insurrection, by posting up and dropping on the streets, "railing rimes, malicious meters, and tauntyng verses," against the King and his council. They were subsequently hung, drawn, and quartered, at Tyburn, and their remains were sent into various parts of the kingdom.[100] In 1405, Griffin, son of Owain Glyndwyr, and other Welsh leaders, who had been taken at the battle of Usk, were conveyed to this fortress: and, about the same time, the Duke of York was lodged there also, charged with having aided the escape of the sons of the Earl of March, from Windsor Castle.[101] He was liberated through the intercession of Parliament in the ensuing year.

But of the numerous prisoners confined here during this reign, none were more unoffending or unfortunate than James, the son and heir of Robert the Third, King of Scotland. This young Prince, whilst on a voyage to France, in 1406, for his education, was driven ashore, near Flamborough Head; when, although a peace subsisted between the two nations, Henry, contrary to every principle of justice, committed him to the Tower, together with his guardian, Henry, Earl of Orkney, and other attendants.[101] His father dying during his captivity, he became entitled to the crown of Scotland, and was, consequently, more jealously guarded by the

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[99] Rot. Claus. 2 Henry IV. part ii. m. 10.

[100] Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. iii. p. 19.

[101] Ibid. Vol. iii. p. 33. [102] Ibid. Vol. iii. p. 41.

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English monarch. In 1407, he was removed, in company with Griffin, the son of Owain Glyndwyr, to Nottingham Castle,[103] where he enjoyed more freedom than before; but, on the King's death, he was re-conducted to the Tower, together with Murdock, Earl of Fife, and others of the Scotch nobility, who had been taken prisoners at the battles of Nisbet-muir, Hamildon, and Shrewsbury.[104]

After the death of Henry the Fourth, in 1412, his son came to London; "and ayens hym was a gret rydynge of men of London, and broughte hym to the tour upon the Fryday; and on the morwe he rood thorugh Chepe with a gret roughte of lordes and knyghtes, the whiche he hadde newe made in the Toure on the night before, unto Westm."[105] During this reign, the fortress was chiefly occupied by prisoners taken in the French wars,[106] and also by many of the followers of Wickliffe, against whom a severe law had been enacted in 1401.[107] Amongst the latter was Lord Cobham, commonly called Sir John Oldcastle, who was first committed to the

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[103] Rymer's Fœdera, tom. viii. p. 484.

[104] Ibid. tom. ix. pp. 2 and 5.

[105] Chronicle of London, from 1089 to 1483, 4to. 1827, p. 95.

[106] Appendix to Vol. ii. of Bayley's History of the Tower, p. xxxv.

[107] Amongst other captives, was one William Elysone, who was afterwards delivered to the Mayor of London, "for to kepe hym in warde, and specyally in yrens, for tales that he hadde told of the kyng; and also for the peple seyde that they myghte non yren fetres no lokkes holden hym; and there he was cheyned to an yren post at the Countor gate in Chepe, ayens the Standard."—Chronicle of London, ut supra, p. 99.

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Tower in 1413, but having escaped,[108] was retaken in Wales, December 1417, and, after a short confinement in the same fortress, was burnt in Smithfield.[109] His lady, who had also been imprisoned there, was released shortly afterwards.[110] After the battle of Agincourt in 1415, the Dukes of Bourbon and Orleans, Marshal Boucicaut, the Counts d'Eu, Vendosme, and others of the French nobility, who had been taken captive, were conveyed to the same abode: and although many of them were afterwards ransomed, or removed, others appear to have remained under restraint for a considerable length of time.[111] On the accession of the sixth Henry, in 1422, numerous captives in the Tower, were removed to the castles of Ruthlan, Flint, and Conway, in Wales; but their vacated cells were speedily occupied by prisoners, who had previously been on parole, and by the hostages of James the Third, of Scotland, who was released in 1423, after a close confinement of eighteen years.[112]

During a temporary absence of the Protector, Humphry, Duke of Gloucester, in 1425, the Bishop of Winchester, then guardian of the young King, under pretence of

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[108] Chronicle of London, from 1099 to 1483, 4to. 1827, p. 96.

[109] Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. iii. p. 94.

[110] Rot. Claus. in Turre, 5 Hen. V. m. 7.

[111] The Duke of Orleans was released in 1440, on payment of about £50,000. Rymer's Fœdera, tom. x. p. 776-786.—The Duke of Bourbon, Marshal Boucicaut, and others, died in the Tower. Ibid. p. 570.—The Earl of Vendosme was placed under the custody of Sir John Cornwale, in 1423.—Ibid. p. 289; and the Count d'Eu was given in charge to the Earl of Morton in 1435. Ibid. p. 602.

[112] Rymer's Fœdera, tom. x. p. 335-6.

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seditious reports having been spread in the Capital, took upon himself to reinforce the garrison of the Tower, and on Gloucester's return from Hainault, denied him access. This affair created great dissentions between the citizens of London and the governor of the fortress, the latter having espoused the cause of the opposite faction: but they were at length reconciled by the intervention of Parliament.[113] For many succeeding years, the prisons of the Tower were occupied by numerous captives of the French and Scottish nations,[114] and also by the state prisoners of our own country;[115] but with the exception of Owen Tudor, the grandfather of King Henry the Eighth,[116] and the Duchess of Gloucester, who was charged with attempting to take away the King's life by sorcery and enchantment,[117] few particulars are handed

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[113] Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. iii. p. 146, et seq.

[114] Rot. Parl. Vol. iv. p. 292.

[115] Among the latter, was one "Richard Hunden, a wolle packer, dampned as a fals heretyk and a lollard, and brent at the Tour hill, the whiche was of so large a consciens that he wolde eten fleysh on Frydays."—Chronicle of London, p. 118.—A priest was also burnt on the same spot, who "for wordes spoken by his lyfe, that the posterne of the tower shulde synke, as after it dyd, & other fātastical dedys or wordes, was of many lewde folkes accōpted for an holy man."—Fabian's Chronicle, edit. 1811, p. 613.

[116] Henry's History of Great Britain, Vol. ix. p. 114, ed. 1800.

[117] It is stated by Fabian, ut supra, p. 614,—that a woman called Margaret Jourdermayne, otherwise the *witch of Eye*, and some others, did at the request of the said Duchess "deuise an image of waxe lyke unto the kyng, the whiche image they delte soo with, that by theyr deuyllysshe incantacyons and sorcery, they entydēd to brynge out of lyfe lytell and lytell the kynges persone, as they lytell and lytell consumyd y^{t} image."

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down to us of the persons confined there, previous to the year 1450. In that year, William de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, whose pernicious councils were supposed to have excited an insurrection, headed by a person vulgarly called *Jack Cade*, was placed in confinement in this fortress.[118]

On the breaking out of the rebellion, Lord Say, the High Treasurer, was imprisoned there by the council, for the purpose of appeasing the clamours of the rebels: but this measure proving ineffectual, the King retired to Kenilworth Castle, leaving the Tower in the charge of Lord Scales, and Sir Mathew Gough, an experienced soldier. The insurgents having obtained admission into the City, caused Lord Say to be beheaded, and made an unsuccessful attempt to force the Tower. As they retreated every night to Southwark, the Mayor and citizens took advantage of that circumstance, and having engaged Lord Scales to aid them with the artillery under his command, and a detachment of soldiers, headed by Sir Mathew Gough, they succeeded in preventing Cade and his followers from repassing London Bridge. During a temporary cessation of hostilities, the Archbishop of Canterbury, who, together with other persons of distinction, had sought refuge within the walls of the

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[118] Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. iii. p. 220.—The Earl was subsequently sentenced to banishment for five years; but whilst on his passage to Calais, he was captured by a vessel called the *Nicholas of the Tower*, and carried to Dover, where "oon of the lewdeste of the shipp bodde hym ley down hys hedde and he shuld be fair ferd wyth, and dye on a swerd; and toke a rusty swerd and smotte off his hedde, withyn halfe a dozeyn strokes."—Paston Letters, Vol. i. p. 40.

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Tower, from the fury of the infatuated multitude, framed a general pardon, by which tranquillity was restored.[119] In 1454, Edmund, Duke of Somerset, was committed to the Tower, through the intrigues of the Duke of York, but was released after a short confinement.[120]

During the continuance of the civil wars between the rival houses of York and Lancaster, the Tower was the scene of many important events. On the landing of the Earls of March, Salisbury, and Warwick, from Calais, in 1460, Lord Scales hastened with an armed force to defend the City of London; but finding the inhabitants favourable to the Yorkists, he possessed himself of that fortress.[121] There he was besieged by the Earl of Salisbury, Lord Cobham, and Sir John Wenlock; but held out until King Henry was captured at Northampton, in the same year, when he surrendered it to the Earl of March.[122] The battle of Towton, in 1461, having for a time completed the overthrow of the Lancastrian party, the last nobleman succeeded to the crown; and on the 27th of June, in the same year, removed to the Tower, preparatory to his coronation; he there entertained the partizans of the house of York, and created thirty-two Knights of the Bath.[123]

No sooner was Edward seated on the throne, than

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[119] Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. iii. p. 224, et seq.

[120] Ibid. Vol. iii. p. 238.

[121] Ibid. p. 257.

[122] Ibid. p. 261.—Not choosing to trust himself to the mercy of his enemies, Lord Scales, before the surrender, left the Tower by water; but was taken and killed, and his body was thrown naked on the shore.

[123] Fabian's Chron. ed. 1811, p. 652;—and Bayley's History of the Tower, Vol. i. p. 48.

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Henry Percy, son and heir of the Duke of Northumberland, who had been killed at the battle of Towton, was conveyed to this fortress;[124] and shortly afterwards, the Earl of Oxford, his eldest son, Lord Aubrey de Vere, Sir Thomas Tudenham, and Sir William Tyrrell, were lodged in the same prison, on suspicion of holding communication with the wife of the deposed King Henry. These were all beheaded at different periods on the neighbouring hill.[125] Henry himself, after experiencing many vicissitudes of fortune, was, in 1464, betrayed into the custody of his rival, and committed to this fortress.[126] In the succeeding year, Edward's Queen, the Lady Elizabeth Grey, resided in the Tower, previous to her coronation. The King, who was desirous of cultivating the favorable opinion of the Londoners, frequently held his court there; and during the temporary subversion of his power in 1470, it was the principal abode of his Queen.[127]

The Revolution in favor of the deposed King, headed by the powerful Earl of Warwick, was so sudden and unexpected, that, in the space of one month, Edward was deprived of his throne, and the captive monarch was restored to his regal dignity. When the flight of the former was known to the Queen, she and her family removed secretly from the Tower, and took refuge in the sanctuary at Westminster; the fortress was immediately afterwards surrendered to the Lancastrian party, and Henry was removed from his prison, and conducted

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[124] He was liberated in 1469.—Rym. Fœd. Tom. xi. p. 1648.
[125] Fabian's Chronicle, ed. 1811, p. 652. [126] Ibid. p. 654.
[127] Bayley's History of the Tower, Vol. i. p. 49.

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to the Royal apartments.[128] But his newly-regained authority was of short duration. Edward, by a series of events as sudden in their occurrence as those by which he had been driven into exile, regained the crown, seized the Tower,[129] and, after the battle of Barnet, re-conducted the unfortunate Henry to the prison from which he had so recently been freed.[130] He then committed that fortress to the charge of Anthony, Earl of Rivers, and leaving therein his Queen and children, marched with an armed force to Tewkesbury. The events of the battle there fought, are very fully recorded in the pages of English history: Henry's son, the young Prince Edward, was slain; and the ill-fated Margaret was taken and led captive to the abode of

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[128] Fabian's Chronicle, edit. 1811, p. 659.

[129] Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. iii. p. 311.

[130] Ibid. p. 314.—The following memoranda of expenses throw considerable light on the manner of his treatment while in confinement.—"To Robert Cosyn in money to him delivered for robes, beds, and other necessaries provided for the said Henry being within the Tower, x.*li.*—To Robert Ratclif and William Sayer, Esquires, in money to them delivered, namely, at one time, vi.*li.* ix.*s.* vi.*d.* as well for their wages and support, as for the wages and maintenance of thirty-six other persons abiding in the Tower for the safe custody of the said Henry, for seven days, each receiving vi.*d.* per day; and at another time x.*s.* for the maintenance of the said Henry for the time aforesaid.—To Robert Cosyn, iv.*li.*: and at another time xl.*s.* for divers necessaries by him bought for the use of the said Henry.—To William Sayer at one time vij.*s.* for the said William and others attending within the Tower for the custody of the said Henry, for fourteen days, and for their maintenance for the same time; and at another time iii.*s.* x.*d.* for the diet of the said Henry for two days."—Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. xi. pp. 712, 713.

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her unfortunate husband. On the 21st of May, King Edward returned to London, and on the following morning, Henry was found dead in the Tower:[131] but whether his death was occasioned by grief, or whether he was deprived of life by unfair means, is a point still undecided, although much inquiry and discussion have been employed on the subject;—the arguments on both sides of the question are strongly urged by the respective writers.[132] The body was "brought unreuerently from y^e^ Tower," to Saint Paul's Church, where it remained for the night, and on the following day was removed to Chertsey,[133] and there interred "without priest or clearke, torch or taper, singing or saying."[134]

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[131] Hall's Chronicle, ed. 1809, p. 303.

[132] See Bayley's Hist. of the Tower, Vol. ii. p. 324, et seq.

[133] Fabian's Chronicle, ed. 1811, p. 662.

[134] Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. iii. p. 303.—That the statements of the above-mentioned Chroniclers are partially incorrect, seems evident from the following passages in Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. x., p. 713.—"To Hugh Brice, in money to him delivered for such monies by him paid for *clergy*, linen cloth, spices and other ordinary expenses laid out and disbursed about the burial of Henry of Windsor, who died within the Tower of London; and for the wages and rewards of divers men carrying torches from the Tower aforesaid to the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, and thence to Chertsey with the body, xv. *li.* iij. *s.* vi. *d.* ob.—To master Richard Martyn, in money to him delivered, namely, at one time ix. *li.* x. *s.* xi. *d.* for so much money by him paid for twenty-eight ells of linen cloth of Holland, and expenses as well within the Tower aforesaid at the last departure of the said Henry, as at Chertsey on the day of his burial, and for reward given to divers soldiers of Calais watching round the body, and for hire of barges, &c.; and at another time viij. *li.* xii. *s.* iij. *d.* paid to the four orders of brethren, within the City of London, and to the brethren

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Queen Margaret was afterwards released, on the payment of an enormous ransom.[135]

The next prisoner of rank committed to the Tower, was George, Duke of Clarence, brother of the reigning monarch. That nobleman had taken a conspicuous part in the rebellion, by which Edward had sustained a temporary loss of his power; and although the latter was, after his restoration to the throne, apparently reconciled to his brother, there still existed a jealousy between them. In 1478, the Duke was committed to this fortress on various frivolous charges, and, after undergoing the form of a trial, was found guilty, and re-conveyed to this prison, where he ended his days. He is said to have been drowned in a Butt of Malmsey:[136] but as that circumstance is not mentioned by the continuator of the history of Croyland Abbey, who has given a very full account of the measures pursued against him, the tradition is probably erroneous. What additions or repairs had been made to the buildings of the Tower, during the three preceding reigns, do not appear, but we learn that in 1480, Edward the Fourth, who resided there more frequently than his immediate predecessors, encreased the fortifications, and enclosed, with a brick

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of the Holy Cross there, and in other works of charity, namely, to the Friars Carmelites, the Augustine Friars, and the Friars Minors xx.*s.* each, and to the Friars Preachers, for obsequies and masses to be celebrated xl.*s.*: and to the Friars of the Holy Cross, x.*s.* and for obsequies and masses to be said at Chertsey aforesaid, on the day of the burial of the said Henry, lij.*s.* iij.*d.*"

[135] Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. iii. p. 301.

[136] Holinshed's Chron. Vol. iii. p. 346, and Fabian's Chron. ed. 1811, p. 666.

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wall, "a piece of ground on Tower Hill, west from the *Lions' Tower*, now called the *bulwark*."[137]

The accession of Edward the Fifth to the throne, and the appointment of Richard, Duke of Gloucester, to the Protectorate of England, gave rise to many events most intimately connected with this fortress. The young Prince had taken up his residence within its walls, as customary, previous to the coronation, and preparations were making for the performance of that ceremony, when circumstances the most unlooked for and unexpected suddenly occurred.[138] On the 13th of June, 1483, Richard, (who does not appear to have previously manifested any designs to usurp the government,) caused the arrest of the Archbishop of York, the Bishop of Ely, Lord Stanley, and Lord Hastings, in the Council Room of the Tower; the three former were confined in separate prisons, but the last was immediately conducted into the Court Yard, and there beheaded on a piece of timber which lay in front of the chapel.[139] Three days afterwards, the Queen was prevailed upon to deliver her youngest son, the Duke of York, to the charge of Gloucester; by whom he was sent to accompany his brother in the Tower.[140]

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[137] Stow's Survey of London, ed. 1618, p. 77.—The Chronicle of London, 4to. 1827, p. 146, says,—"This yere were the diches about the Tour newe cast, and the Tour new repeired."

[138] A letter dated at London on the ninth of June, says—"Yer is gret besyness ageyns ye coronacion, wyche schal be yis day fortnyght as we sey. Ye kyng is at ye toure."—Bayley's History of the Tower, Vol. i. p. 54.

[139] Fabian's Chronicle, ed. 1811, p. 668.

[140] Ibid. p. 669.

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Richard soon openly declared his pretensions to the throne, and on the 4th of the ensuing month, came to the fortress preparatory to his own coronation; when the Archbishop of York and Lord Stanley were released from confinement, and many noblemen and gentlemen created Knights of the Bath.[141] The ceremony was conducted with a degree of splendour unequalled on former occasions; there followed in the Usurper's train three Dukes, nine Earls, and twenty-two Barons, besides Knights and Esquires, all arrayed in the most gorgeous apparel.

A *ward-robe account* for the year 1483, which is commented upon in the first volume of the Archæologia, p. 361, et seq.—contains a list and description of the articles of dress delivered at the Tower, for the use of the King and Queen and their numerous attendants. Among other entries is the following, "To our said Soverayne Lord the Kyng for his apparaill, the vigil afore the day of his moost noble Coronation, for to ride in from his Toure of London, unto his Palays of Westminster; a doublet made of two yerds and a quarter and a half of blue clothe of gold, wroght with netts and pyne-apples, with a stomacher of the same lined with oon ell of Holland cloth, and oon ell of busk, instede of green cloth of gold,—and a longe gown for to ryde in, made of eight yerds of p'pul velvet, furred with eight tymbres and half and 13 bakks of ermyn, and 4 tymbres, 17 wombes of ermyns, powdered with 3300 of powderings made of bogy shanks, and a payre of short spurs all gilt."

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[141] Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. iii. p. 397.

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It appears to have been intended that the young Prince, Edward, should have been present at his uncle's coronation; but, whether he was or not, is unknown.[142] We are informed, that after Richard's advancement to the throne, the sons of the late King remained "under suer kepyng within the Tower." An opinion prevailed that evil was intended them, and it is recorded that ineffectual attempts were made to convey the daughters of Edward the Fourth to a foreign state, lest any thing should happen to their brothers. Soon afterwards a report was spread, that both the young Princes were dead; and their death was, of course, attributed to their uncle Richard;[143] but, notwithstanding all that has been said and written upon the subject, the manner of their deaths is still doubtful, and will probably ever remain so. This event is so intimately connected with the history of the Tower, that it will be proper to notice the statements of those authors who lived nearest to the time of the transaction.

The continuator of the History of Croyland, on whose authority much reliance may be placed, says—"Vulgatum est dictos Regis Edwardi Pueros quo genere violenti interitus ignoratur decessisse in fata."[144] —Arnold, a citizen of London who lived in Richard's reign, states, that in 1484, "the two sons of Kynge Edward were put to silence.[145] Fabian, a contemporary author, and also a Londoner, informs us that

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[142] Walpole's Historic Doubts on the Life of King Richard the Third; in his Works, ed. 1798, Vol. ii. p. 146.

[143] Fabian's Chronicle, ed. 1811, p. 670.

[144] Gale's Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores, Vol. i. p. 568.

[145] Chronicle of the Customs of London, ed. 1811, p. xxxii.

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"kynge Edward the V. with his broder the Duke of Yorke, were put under suer kepynge within the Tower, in such wyse that they never came abrode after;" and, in another place, adds, "comon fame went that kynge Richard hadde within the Tower put unto secrete deth the ij sons of his broder Edward the IVth.[146] In addition to these, the French Annalist, Philip de Comines, speaking of Richard the Third, says—"fait mourir les deux fils du Roy Edouard son frere."[147] To these meagre, but accordant assertions, Sir Thomas More, who has been followed by Hall, Holinshed, and subsequent writers, has added, in his "Life of Henry the VIIth," the following particulars.—Richard, thinking that he should never enjoy the crown in peace whilst his nephews were alive, "sent Jhon Grene, whom he specially trusted, vnto Sir Robert Brakēbury, Constable of the Tower, with a letter and credēce also, that the same Sir Roberte in anywyse should put the two childrē to death. This Jhon Grene did hys errand to Brakenbury, knelynge before oure Lady in the Towre, who plainly answered that he woulde never put them to deathe." The messenger returned to Warwick, (where the King was then residinge, with the Constable's answer; and on the next day Sir James Tyrrell was dispatched to the Tower with a letter, ordering Brakenbury to deliver to him all the keys of that fortress for one night, "that he might there accomplishe the Kynges pleasure in suche thinges as he had geven him in commaundement." Sir Thomas then states, that when Richard assumed the regal dignity, all the attendants had been removed from the young

[146] Fabian's Chronicle, ed. 1811, pp. 669, 670.

[147] Chronique de Comines, edit. Paris, 1539, liv. i. f. cclij.

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Princes except one, called "Black Will," and four keepers, and that, after that event, the elder Prince "never tyed his pointes nor any thyng roughte of hym selfe, but with that young babe his brother lyngered in thoughte and heuines, tyll this trayterous dede deliuered them of that wretchednes."

"James Tirrel deuised that they shoulde be murthered in their beddes, and no bloud shed: to the execution wherof, he appoincted Myles Forest, one of the foure that before kepte them, a felowe fleshe bred in murther before tyme: and to him he joyned one Jhon Dighton his awne horsekeper, a bygge broade square and strong knaue. Then al the other beyng remoued from them, this Miles Forest and Jhon Dighton aboute mydnight, the sely children liyng in their beddes, came into ye chaũbre and sodenli lapped them up amongest the clothes and so bewrapped them and entangled them, kepyng doune by force the fether-bed and pillowes harde unto their mouthes, that within a while they smored & styfled them, and their breathes failyng, they gaue vp to God their innocẽt solles into the joyes of heauen, leauyng to the tormẽtours their bodies dead in the bed, which after the wretches perceyued, firste by the strugglyng with the panges of death, and after long liyng styl to be throughly dead, they layd the bodies out upon the bed, and fetched James Tirrel to see them, which when he saw them perfightly dead, he caused the murtherers to burye them at the stayre foote, metely deepe in the groũde under a great heape of stones."

Tyrrell, having performed his task, rode to the king, "and shewed him all the manner of the murther, who gave him great thankes, and as men saye, there made hym knighte, but he allowed not their buriall in so

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vile a corner, saiyng that he would have them buried in a better place, because they were a kynges sonnes. Wherupon a priest of Sir Robert Brakenburies toke them up and buried them in such a place secretly, as by the occasion of his death (which was very shortly after) the very trueth could never yet be very well and perfightly knowen."

How vague and uncertain the reports relating to the death of Edward the Vth. and his brother were, even in the life-time of More, himself, is evident by the following passages from the "Chronicle" of Rastall, his brother-in-law. "Of the maner of the dethe of this yonge kynge and his brother there were dyvers opinyons. But the most comyn opinyon was that they were smoldery'd betwene two fetherbeddes, and that in the doynge the yonger brother escaped from under the fetherbeddes, and crept under the bedstede, and there lay naked awhyle, tyll that they had smoldery'd the yonge kyng so that he was surely dede. And after y^t^ one of them toke his brother from under the bedstede, and hylde his face downe to the grounde with his one hande, and with the other hande cut his throte holle a sonder with a dagger. And after that the bodyes of these ii chylderne, as the opinyon ranne, were bothe closed in a great hevy cheste, and by the meanes of one that was secrete with the protectour, they were put in a shyppe goynge to Flaunders; and whan the shyppe was in the *blacke depes* this man threwe bothe those dede bodyes so closed in the cheste over the hatches into the see, and yet none of the maryners nor none in the shyppe, save onely the sayd man, wyst what thynge it was that was there so inclosed; which sayenge dyvers men conjectured to be trewe, because that the bones of the sayd

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chylderne coude never be founde buryed nother in the Towre nor in no other place."

Another version of the story is, "that they whiche had the charge to put them to dethe caused one to cry so sodaynly treason! treason! wherewyth the chylderne beynge aferde, desyred to knowe what was best for them to do. And than they bad them hyde themselfe in a great cheste that no man shulde fynde them, and if any body came into the chambre, they wolde say they were nat there. And accordynge as they counsellyd them, they crepte bothe into the cheste, which anone after they locked. And than anone they buryed that cheste in a great pytte under a steyre, which cheste was after caste into the *blacke depes*, as is afore-sayd."

Let us now examine the opinions of those authors who have endeavoured to exculpate Richard from the murder of the young Princes.

Polydore Vergil, a foreigner, who compiled a history of this Kingdom, at the request of Henry the Seventh, about the year 1505, says, "In vulgus fama valuit, filios Edwardi Regis, aliquâ terrarum parte migrasse, atque ibi superstites esse." Hall, who wrote his "Chronicle of England" in the reign of Henry the Eighth, tells us that the "fame went, and many surely supposed King Edward's children not to be dead, but to be fled secretly to some strange place and there to be living;" and Lord Bacon, noticing the accession of Henry the Seventh, says, "Neither wanted there, even at this time, secret rumours and whisperings, which afterwards gathered strength and turned to great trouble, that the two sons of King Edward IV., or one of them, which were said to be destroyed in the Tower, were not indeed murdered, but were secretly conveyed away, and

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were yet living. And all this time it was still whispered everywhere, that at least one of the children was living." Even Sir Thomas More, notwithstanding his previous account, adds, "some remained long in doubt whether they were destroyed in his (Richard's) days, or no."

On the authority of these latter statements various authors of credit and respectability have urged that the young princes were not murdered, and that Peterkin, or Perkin Warbeck, of whom more will hereafter be said, was actually the son of Edward the Fourth. As most of their arguments are embodied in Walpole's "Historic Doubts of the Life and Reign of King Richard the Third," previously referred to, we shall here notice those which seem most worthy of credit or comment.

It is contended, that Richard, a crafty and discerning man, would not have sent instructions to Brakenbury for the murder of the young prisoners under his charge without knowing how those instructions would be received. He would not have continued him in the command of the Tower, and have conferred on him other favors after his refusal: nor would Brakenbury, who had the honor and spirit to disobey such a mandate, have fought and died in his cause on the field at Bosworth. To this it may be answered, that although Brakenbury declined personally to enforce the injunctions of the arbitrary tyrant, it is extremely probable,—from the disappearance of the princes, from the length of time that elapsed before the youngest of them, the soi-disant Duke of York, appeared under the name of Perkin Warbeck, and from the total silence of historians, as to the ultimate fate of Edward the Fifth, if he escaped from the Tower, as Richard's advocates have asserted,

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—that they were murdered, and that Brakenbury was, at least, cognizant of the fatal deed. His subsequent preferment by Richard, instead of controverting the fact, is a strong evidence in its favour. Why should Walpole and other writers be so anxious to impeach the credit of Sir Thomas More, who wrote his history only twenty-five years after the above transaction took place? Surely it can be no valid objection, that he lived under Henry the Seventh, and that being of the Lancastrian party, he would endeavour to vilify and blacken the character of a member of the House of York, when men who were living in the time of King Richard asserted the same fact, but without the additions, which they probably concealed from fear, or because the particular circumstances connected with the event were unknown! Why should it be insinuated that the young princes were living at the time of Henry the Seventh's accession, when it must be evident that after Richard had usurped the throne, it was necessary, both for the safety of his person and of his crown, that they should be dispatched? Besides, had they been then alive, it can scarcely be credited, that Fabian, and Hall, who were inhabitants of London, would have been ignorant of that fact. Polydore Vergil, on whose assertion much stress has been laid, was a foreigner, and an author of very little credit. Hall, Sir Thomas More, and Lord Bacon, in the passages previously noticed, refer only to the passing rumours of the day at the time of Warbeck's appearance, but do not seem to have believed that he was actually the son of the late King Edward. Much more might be said upon this subject, but enough, it is presumed, has already been adduced to warrant the opinion that King Edward

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the Fifth, and his brother, the Duke of York, were put to death in the Tower by the direction of their uncle, Richard, and that Perkin Warbeck was an impostor.

This murderous transaction, the circumstances connected with which have been already detailed, has formed the ground-work of various dramatic pieces; but by no author has the death of the young princes been more energetically and poetically described than by Shakspeare, in his Tragedy of "King Richard III.," who, although he has, perhaps, misled more persons on points of history than any other writer, has, in the following passages, not only strictly adhered to the generally-received account of the murder, but has clothed, in forcible language, the trite and matter-of-fact relations of the old chroniclers. Tyrrel, in a soliloquy, thus comments on the fatal deed.—

The tyrannous and bloody act is done;
The most arch deed of piteous massacre,
That ever yet this land was guilty of.
Dighton, and Forrest, whom I did suborn
To do this piece of ruthless butchery,
Albeit they were flesh'd villains, bloody dogs,
Melting with tenderness and mild compassion,
Wept like two children, in their death's sad story.
O thus, quoth Dighton, *lay the gentle babes,—*
Thus, thus, quoth Forrest, *girdling one another*
Within their alabaster innocent arms:—
Their lips were four red roses on a stalk,
Which, in their summer beauty, kiss'd each other.
A book of prayers on their pillow lay;
Which once, quoth Forrest, *almost chang'd my mind;*
But, O, the devil—there the villain stopp'd;
When Dighton thus told on,—*we smothered*
The most replenished sweet work of nature,
That, from the prime creation, ere she fram'd.—

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Hence both are gone with conscience and remorse,
They could not speak; and so I left them both,
To bear this tidings to the bloody king.

Richard was not negligent of the Tower buildings, and we are informed that, in 1484, the royal surveyors were commanded to press masons, bricklayers, and other artificers for expediting the works.

On the death of the Usurper in Bosworth Field, in 1487, *Henry the Seventh* was raised to the throne, and one of his first acts was to commit to the Tower the Earl of Surrey, who had fought against him: but he was released two years afterwards. The King next secured the person of Edward, Earl of Warwick, son of the late Duke of Clarence, whose title to the crown excited his jealous fears. This unfortunate young prince had previously been kept in restraint by Richard the Third, at the castle of Sheriff-Hutton, in Yorkshire, and after his removal to the Tower by Henry's command was so closely confined there, that one Lambert Simnel conceived the idea of personating him; and so well did this stratagem succeed in Ireland and in some parts of this kingdom, that it was found necessary to produce the Earl in order to satisfy the populace of his identity. Having been thus exposed to the public gaze he was re-conducted to his prison, where he remained until 1499, when Ferdinand, King of Spain, having refused his daughter in marriage with Prince Arthur, on the ground of Warwick's claim to that throne, it was deemed politic to dispatch him: he was therefore accused of planning an escape from the Tower, in conjunction with Perkin Warbeck, and on that frivolous pretence he was tried and finally executed on the 28th of November, 1499. Thus fell the last male heir of the

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whole line of the House of Plantagenet, who had been a prisoner from his infancy, and whose only crime was the nobility of his birth.

The King had married *Elizabeth*, one of the *daughters of Edward the Fourth*, almost immediately after his accession, but had delayed the solemnity of her coronation until November, 1487, when it was celebrated with all its accustomed splendour. We are told, that, on the Friday before St. Katharine's day, the Queen, accompanied by the King's mother and a numerous retinue, proceeded from Greenwich by water, attended by the Mayor and Aldermen, and city liveries, "in barges freshely furnyshed with baners and stremers of silk richely besene," but especially "a barge called the *Bacheler's Barge*, garnyshed and apparellede, passing al other, wherin was ordeynede a great red Dragon, spowting Flamys of Fyer into Temmys. Also many other gentilmanly Pajants wele and curiously devysed to do her Highnesse sport and pleasure with." Thus attended, she landed at the Tower wharf, "and so entred into the Towre, wher the Kyngs Hyghnesse welcomede her in suche maner and forme as was to al th' Astats and other ther being present, a very good sight, and right joyous and comfortable to beholde." On the following day "her Grace, being at the Tower of London, after Dyner was rially apparelde, having about her a Kyrtill of whithe Cloth of Golde of Damaske, and a Mantell of the same suete furrede with Ermyns, fastened byfor her Brest with a great Lase curiously wrought of Golde and Silk, and riche Knoppes of Golde at the Ende taselled. Her faire yelow hair hanging downe pleyne byhynd her Bak, with a Calle of Pypes over it, and a Serkelet of Golde richely garnyshed with precious

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Stonys upon her Hede." So apparelled she entered a litter, "coverde with Cloth of Golde of damaske and large Pelowes of downe covered with lik Clothe of Golde," and was thus conveyed to Westminster; the streets through which she passed being cleansed and dressed "with Clothes of Tappestrye and Arras, and lined with the crafts in their Lyveryes," and in many parts of the City were children stationed "some arrayde like Angells, and others lyke Vyrgyns, to singe swete Songes as her Grace passed by."[148] In the same year, the innocence of Thomas, Marquis of Dorset, (who had been committed to the Tower in 1486, on the charge of exciting insurrection,) having been fully established, he was released from confinement and restored to royal favour.[149]

The next historical event connected with this fortress is the death of *Sir William Stanley;* who, although he had been one of Henry's foremost supporters, and had even turned the scale of victory in his favour on the Field of Bosworth, was, in 1495, impeached of having been heard to declare, "that if he certainly knew the young man called Perkin (who had recently asserted his pretensions to the throne) to be really the son of Edward the Fourth, he would never draw his sword or bear arms against him." On this paltry charge, he was found guilty in a Council held at the Tower, sentenced to the block by his heartless master, and finally executed on the adjoining hill.[150]

The cause of *Perkin Warbeck*, who had assumed the

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[148] Leland's Collectanea, Vol. iv. p. 218, et seq.

[149] Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. iii. p. 490.

[150] History of the House of Stanley, 8vo. p. 99.

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title of Richard, Duke of York, was now making rapid advances. The nobility and gentry of Ireland had already acknowledged his title and his legitimacy, and promised him their assistance to recover the crown; Charles of France had also invited him to his Court and favoured his claims; Margaret, Duchess of Burgundy, by whom he was chiefly supported, had furnished him with money, and the people of Flanders generally believed him to be the son of Edward the Fourth, and that he had been secretly conveyed out of the Tower by some trusty friend of his father's. But, in England, matters assumed a more serious aspect to the King; the report of Warbeck's legitimacy "was blazed in every place sooner than a man could think or devise it," and it was received as a certain truth, not only by the common people, "but also by divers noble and worshipfull men of no small estimation;" his standard was joined by Englishmen of all ranks, and those noblemen who gave credit to his story "allured to their opinion all such as were friends and fautors of the House of York."[151]

Henry made extraordinary exertions to avoid the impending storm; spies were sent into Flanders to ascertain Warbeck's origin; his English adherents were seized and committed to the Tower, and every effort was tried to convince the people of his being an impostor. But, not discouraged, Warbeck made his appearance in Scotland, in 1495, where so little doubt was entertained of his identity, that James the Third not only gave him in marriage his kinswoman, Katharine, daughter of Alexander, Earl of Huntley, but even

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[151] Hall's Chronicle, ed. 1809, p. 463.

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sacrificed to his cause, his money, plate, and jewels. He was shortly afterwards proclaimed King, and marched towards England; but being unsuccessful in his attempts, returned to Ireland, and did not again appear in this kingdom until 1497, when he landed in Cornwall; and, after undergoing various vicissitudes of fortune, was compelled to seek sanctuary in the Abbey of Beaulieu, in the New Forest. Being there seized, he was conducted to London, but contrived to make his escape; he was, however, re-taken, and, after he had been set in the stocks and compelled to read a confession of imposture, was lodged in the Tower. He remained in confinement until 1499, when, having been tried and convicted on various charges of treason, he was hanged at Tyburn, on the 23rd of November, in that year.[152]

The King being desirous of diverting the popular attention from the contemplation of his past conduct, contracted a marriage between his son, Prince Arthur, and Katharine, the daughter of Ferdinand, King of Spain. After the celebration of their nuptials, in 1501, the Tower became the scene of great festivity, and tournaments and feasts were held within those walls, which in the succeeding year witnessed the death of Sir James Tyrrell and Sir John Wyndham, both of whom had been attainted of high treason. In 1503, Elizabeth, Henry's Queen, who often retreated to this fortress "from the society of her sullen and cold-hearted husband," died there, a few days after having given birth to the princess, Katharine, who did not long survive her.

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[152] Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. iii. pp. 523, 524.

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Henry the Eighth, immediately after his father's death, resorted to the Tower, where he formed his council, and issued his commands for the arrest of *Sir Henry Stafford*, brother to the Duke of Buckingham, *Sir Richard Empson*, and *Edmund Dudley;* the former on some slight suspicion of disaffection, of which he speedily cleared himself, and the two latter, who had been the instruments of extortion employed during the preceding reign, to appease the clamours of the people. Although these men pleaded that all they had done, was in obedience to their late sovereign's orders, the policy of state outweighed the considerations of justice, and, after a few months' delay, they were led to the block, on Tower Hill. In 1509, Henry held his court in this fortress, while preparations were making for his marriage with Katharine of Arragon, the widow of his brother, Prince Arthur. The unequalled magnificence with which this wedding was celebrated, presented a striking contrast to the subsequent degradation of the unhappy princess. On the 21st of June, the King and Queen, who had been previously married, proceeded with a splendid and numerous retinue from Greenwich to the Tower, where the King created four and twenty knights of the Bath; and on the 23rd of the same month, the royal pair went in procession to Westminster, attended by all the gorgeous pageantry peculiar to the age. From this fortress, came first two gentlemen richly apparelled, bearing the ensigns of the Duchess of Guyenne and Normandy; next followed two persons on horses richly caparisoned, bearing the King's hat and cloak; after them, Sir Thomas Brandon, Master of the Horse, "clothed in tissue broudered with roses of fine gold, and having a massy balderick of gold." That officer led by a silken rein

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the King's spare horse, "trapped barde wise, with harneis broudered with bullion golde," and was followed by nine children of honor, "apparelled in blewe velvet poudered with floure delices of gold and chaines of goldesmithes woorke, every one of their horses trapped with a trapper of the kynges title." The King, who rode bare-headed, wore "a robe of crimosyn velvet furred with armyns," his jacket or coat of raised gold, the placard embroidered with diamonds, rubies, emeralds, and other jewels. His horse was caparisoned with damask gold, and his knights and attendants were habited in crimson velvet and scarlet cloth. The Queen's retinue was equally numerous and splendid. She appeared in a litter drawn by two white palfreys, and was habited "in white satyn embrodered, her heire hangyng downe to her backe, and on her hedde a coronall, set with many riche orient stones." After her came an immense concourse of ladies on white palfreys, habited in cloth of gold, silver, velvet, and embroidery, and followed by numberless attendants.[153]

In 1513, Edmund de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, who had been long confined here, was beheaded on the neighbouring hill.[154] About six years afterwards, a scarcity of provisions having caused an insurrection in the City, many of the rioters were seized and committed to the Tower, together with one Dr. Bell, who, by his inflammatory sermons, had been chiefly instrumental in exciting the tumult.[155] In 1521, this fortress became

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[153] Hall's Chronicle, ed. 1809, p. 547, et seq.

[154] Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. iii. p. 574.

[155] Ibid. p. 621, et seq.—It is stated that during the continuance of this tumult, Sir Roger Cholmondeley, the Lieutenant of

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the prison of *Edward, Duke of Buckingham,* Lord High Constable of England, apparently a man of vain and incautious disposition, and the professed enemy of Cardinal Wolsey. He was lineally descended from Anne, eldest daughter of Thomas of Woodstock, the youngest son of Edward the Third,[156] and having uttered some expressions which were construed into a design upon the throne, they were employed by that ambitious prelate to effect his ruin. On the 16th of January, he was arrested and conveyed to the Tower; on the 13th of the following month he was brought to trial, and having been found guilty on the evidence of his own servants, he was executed at Tower Hill, the following Friday.[157] Lord Abergavenny, Lord Montague, and Sir Edward Nevil, who had also been committed to the Tower, for concealing their knowledge of the Duke of Buckingham's designs, were liberated in the early part of the ensuing year; the former had been tried, and pleading guilty, was afterwards pardoned.

Previous to the execution of the daring measures which were now about to characterize Henry's reign, commissioners were appointed to survey the buildings

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the Tower, discharged several pieces of ordnance into the City; and, although no great injury was done, it caused him to be generally disliked by the Londoners, afterwards.

[156] Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. i. pp. 163. 171.

[157] Holinshed's Chron. Vol. iii. pp. 658, 662.—The Duke was conveyed from the Tower to Westminster for trial, in a barge; of which, that part appointed for his use was furnished with a carpet and cushions suitable to his rank; but on returning, after his condemnation, he declined taking the same seat, saying to Sir Thomas Lovel, "When I came to Westminster I was Lord High Constable, and Duke of Buckingham, but now—poor Edward Bohun."

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of the Tower, and to make all necessary repairs. The return to this commission in 1531, estimates the total expense of the requisite alterations, at £3593. 4s. 1d., and from a report made, (probably by the master of the works) in the ensuing year, they appear to have been in a very forward state.[158]

Henry had no sooner gained the sentence of the Church in favour of his divorce from Queen Katharine, than he hastened to espouse the ill-fated Anne Boleyn; and although her marriage was at first kept secret, her coronation was celebrated with even more than usual splendour.

"On the Thursdaye nexte before the Feaste of Pentecost the Kyng and the Queene beyng at Grenewyche, all the Craftes of London thereunto well appoynted, in severall bargis deckyd after the most gorgiouse and sumptuous maner, with dyverse pagiantes thereunto belongyng, repayred and wayted all together upon the Mayre of London; and so well furnysshed, cam all unto Grenewiche, where they taryed and wayted for the Queenes commyng to her barge: which so done, they brought her unto the Tower, tromppets, shambes, and other dyverse instrumentes all the wayes playng and makyng greate melodie, which, as ys reported, was as combly donne as neuer was lyke in any tyme nyghe to our rememberaunce. And so her grace cam to the Tower on Thursdaye at nyghte, abowte v. of the clocke, where also was suche a pele of gonnes as hathe not byn harde lyke a great while before, and on her landing was met by the Kyng who received her with louyng counte-

[158] Bayley's Hist. of the Tower, Vol. i. App. pp. viii.—xxxiv.

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naunce, at the Posterne by the Water syde, and kyssed her. The same nyghte, and Frydaye al daye, the Kyng and Queene taryed there; and on Frydaye at nyght the Kyngs Grace made xviij knyghts of the Bathe, whose creacion was not alonly so strange to here of, as also their garmentes stranger to beholde or loke on."[159]

On the following day the Royal procession left the Tower gates in more splendid array than had ever been witnessed on any preceding occasion. The streets were strewed with gravel, and adorned with tapestry, silk, and velvets; the crafts and city authorities in their liveries and official dresses, lined the causeways; "pageants, devices, and fantasies," were to be seen in every direction; the fountains flowed with wine, the acclamations of the people were long and loud, and every thing was made subservient to the festivities of the day. Thus, dazzled by the surrounding pomp and splendour, did Anne Boleyn hear and receive with pleasure, the shouts of that multitude, who, within the space of three short years witnessed her confinement and subsequent death as a traitress, within those walls from which she now so triumphantly proceeded. The cavalcade was at once numerous and splendid. First from the portals rode twelve Frenchmen, "in coates of blewe velvet with sleves of yelowe and blewe velvet;" the trappings of their horses were of "blewe sarcenet poudered with white crosses." Then came gentlemen, esquires, and knights, two and two; after them the judges, followed by the knights of the Bath "in violet gounes with hoddes purfeled with Miniver;" next came in succession, abbots, barons, bishops, earls, and mar-

[159] Ellis's "Original" Letters, first series, Vol. ii. p. 36, 2nd ed.

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quesses, followed by the Lord Chancellor; after him, the Archbishop of York, the Venetian Ambassador, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Ambassador of France. These were succeeded by two esquires of honour, representing the Dukes of Normandy and Aquitain, followed by the Mayor of London with his mace and garter; after whom came the Lord Marshal, and Lord Constable of England, bearing the insignia of their offices. The Queen appeared in an open litter of white cloth of gold, drawn by two palfreys wholly covered with white damask. She wore a circot (*sur-coat*) of white cloth of tissue, and a mantle of the same furred with ermine, and on her head she bore a coif, and a circlet of precious stones. After the Queen came her Chamberlain and Master of the Horse, followed by seven ladies in crimson velvet turned up with cloth of gold, and after them four chariots full of ladies, succeeded by the guards and attendants of the court, in splendid liveries.[160]

Little did the people who beheld this gorgeous assemblage foresee the sanguinary scenes by which it was succeeded, when Henry asserted his independence of the Papal authority, seized the monastic revenues, and declared himself the supreme head of the Church of England; a measure which, however beneficial in its consequences, none but a daring prince would have contemplated, and none but a resolute one could have accomplished. Never did any event, recorded in its diversified annals, consign to the Tower more occupants, or crimson with more blood the neighbouring hill. The tyrannising spirit of the Church of Rome, which, about the com mencement of the sixteenth century, had reached the

[160] Hall's Chronicle, ed. 1809, p. 799.

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zenith of its power, aided by the bigotry of Sir Thomas More, the Chancellor, and other professors of the Catholic Faith, had already caused the imprisonment of many of those who had adopted a different creed; and no sooner was the King's supremacy declared by Parliament, than the Priors of the Charter-house, and Sion Hospital, with several Carthusian monks who had refused to acknowledge his authority, were committed to the Tower; together with *John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester*, who, by his consciencious adherence to the principles in which he had been educated, had incurred the royal displeasure.[161] That prelate's confinement was of the most rigid description. In a letter to Cromwell, then Secretary of State, he says, "I have neither shirt, nor sute, nor yet other clothes that ar necessary for me to wear, but that bee ragged, and rent so shamefully; my dyett also, God knoweth how slendar it is at meny tymes."[162] The privations of this venerable person were not, however, of long duration; the ill-timed compliment of Pope Clement in conferring on him the dignity of a cardinal while under restraint, hastened his destruction, "for ere the cap of honor had reached Calais, the head it was intended to adorn was stuck on London Bridge."

Sir Thomas More, whose wit, talents, and many virtues, although tarnished by bigotry, have endeared his name to posterity, was one of the next who suffered for their opposition to the royal will. Although visited during his confinement in this fortress, by the Lord Chancellor, the Dukes of Norfolk, Suffolk, and others,

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[161] Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. iii. p. 793.

[162] Bayley's Hist. of the Tower, Vol. i. p. 136.

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who hoped to produce a change in his religious opinions, he resolutely withstood their persuasions, and finally sealed by his blood, his attachment to the doctrines of the Church of Rome.

Of the inexhaustible fund of humour possessed by this eminent minister, the following are remarkable instances. When he was conveyed a prisoner to the Tower, the porter having, according to an antient custom of the place, demanded his *uppermost garment* as his fee, Sir Thomas presented him with his cap, telling him that *that* was his *uppermost garment*, and that he wished it was of more value.—On being led to Tower Hill, to execution, a female reproached him for detaining some deeds whilst he was in office: "my good woman," said he, "have patience a little, for the King is so gracious to me, that within this half hour, he will discharge me of all my business and help thee himself." Even at the block his accustomed levity did not forsake him. As he ascended the scaffold, he requested one of the guards to assist him, adding, "when I come down again, let me shift for myself." At the time of laying his head upon the block, the executioner begged his forgiveness: "I forgive thee," quoth he, "but prithee, let me put my beard aside, for that hath never committed treason."[163]

Prisoners of a very different nature to those already named, were now about to crowd these dreaded cells. No sooner had the lustful Henry placed his affections on Lady Jane Seymour, than he devised measures for

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[163] Hall's Chronicle, p. 817.—A very neat and valuable edition of Roper's "Life of Sir Thomas More," with a preface and notes by S. W. Singer, was published in 1817.

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dissolving his union with *Anne Boleyn*. Nor were the means wanting: the part she had taken in promoting the cause of the Reformation, had created her many enemies, and her natural affability and unsuspecting disposition gave those enemies frequent opportunities of prejudicing the King against her, when they perceived that she had lost his affection. The real grounds for the imputations made on her conduct are unknown; but it is asserted, that the Queen being present at a tournament at Greenwich, on May-day 1536, dropped her handkerchief, which some one belonging to the court picked up, and with it wiped his face. The King, who wanted but little confirmation of his suspicions, hastened to London and convened a council: on the following morning he committed the Queen's brother, Lord Rochford, to the Tower, together with Henry Norris, William Brereton, and Sir Francis Weston, three officers of the household, and Mark Smeton, a musician. On the same day, the Queen, who was returning to court, was arrested, and notwithstanding her protestations of innocence, and entreaties to speak to the King, was conveyed by her uncle, the Duke of Norfolk, to the same fortress, and committed to the custody of Sir William Kingston, the Lieutenant. In the first letter of that officer to Secretary Cromwell after Anne's imprisonment, he says—"Apon my Lord of Norfolk and the Kyngs Counsell departure from the Towre I went before the Quene in to hyr lodgyng, and she sayd unto me, M. Kyngston shall I go in to a dungyn? No Madam, you shall go into your logyng that you lay in at your Coronacion. It ys to gude for me, she sayd, Jesu have mercy on me: and kneled downe wepyng apace, and in the same sorow fell in to agret lawyng, (*laughing*) and she hath done so mony tymes syns.

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And then she desyred me to move the Kyngs Hynes that she might have the sacarment in the closet by hyr chambr that she myght pray for mercy, for I am as clere from the company of man, as for sin, as I am as clere from you, and am the Kyngs trew wedded wyf; and then she said M. Kyngston do you know wher for I am here, and I sayd nay, and then she asked, when saw you the Kyng? and I sayd I saw hym not syns I saw hym in the Tylte yerde. And then M. K. I pray you to tell me wher my Lord Rochford ys? And I told her I saw hym afore dyner in the cort. O.... my swet broder. I sayd I left hym at York place, and so I dyd. I hear say, sayd she, that I shuld be accused with iij men and I can say but nay withyowt I shuld oppen my body, and ther with opynd her gown. Norres hast thou accused me? thow art in the toure with me & we shall dy together: and Marke, thou art here to! Oh my mother (thou wilt die) for sorow, and meche lamented my lady of Worcet' for bycause (her chyld) dyd not store in hyr body: and my wyf sayd what shuld (be the cause? and she) sayd for the sorow she toke for me: and then she sayd, M. K. (shall I dye) with yowt just? & I sayd the porest sugett the Kyng (hath, hath justice; and) ther with she lawed. All thys sayings was yester nyght." Much of this interesting letter is destroyed, but it thus concludes. "Wher I was commaunded to charge the gentelwemen that gyf thayre atende apon the Quene, that ys to say, thay shuld have now commynycaseon with hyr in lese (*unless*) my wyf ware present, and so I dyd hit, notwithstaundyng it canot be: for my lady Bolen and meystrys Cofyn lyes on the Quenes palet, and I and my wyf at the dore with yowt so that they most nedes talke yat be without; but I have every thyng told

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me by mestrys Cofyn that she thynks met for me to knowe.—From the Toure this mo....."[164]

In a subsequent correspondence with the Secretary, Kingston says,—"the Quene hathe meche desyred to have here in the closet the sacarments, & also hyr Amner (almoner) who she supposeth to be Devet; for won owre she ys determyned to dy, and the next owre meche contrary to that. Yesterday after your departyng I sent for my wyf, & also for mestrys Coffyn to know how she had done that day, they sayd she had bene very mery and made agret dyner, and yet sone after she called for hyr supper, havyng marvell wher I was all day."[165]

On the 10th of May, 1536, Norris, Weston, Brereton, and Smeton, were tried for high treason at Westminster, and found guilty. Three days afterwards, the Queen, and her brother, Lord Rochford, were arraigned in the great hall of the Tower, and although the only charge proved against the latter was, that he had one morning entered his sister's chamber, and whilst conversing with her in the presence of her attendants had rested his hand upon the bed, was sentenced to death. Anne was also declared to be guilty, upon a confession made by Smeton, in hopes of saving his life; notwithstanding which, we are informed that many persons were fully convinced of her innocence.[166]

On the 17th of the same month, Lord Rochford, Norris, Brereton, and Weston, were beheaded on Tower Hill, and Smeton was at the same time hung. On the ensuing morning, Sir William Kingston, the Lieutenant

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[164] Ellis's Letters, 1st series, Vol. ii. p. 53, et seq. 2nd ed.

[165] Ibid. vol. ii. p. 59, 2nd ed.

[166] Speed's Historie of Greate Britaine, ed. 1632, p. 1015.

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of the Tower, wrote to Lord Cromwell as follows.—"Syr thys shalbe to advertyse you I have resayved your Lett'wherin you would have strangerys conveyed yowt of the Towre and so thay be, by the meanes of Richard Gressum, & Willm̄ Loke, & Wythepoll, bot the numbr of strangerys passyd not xxx. and not mony othere. and the imbassit' of the emperor had a servant ther, and (he was) honestly put yowt. Sr yf we have not anowre serten as it may be knowen in London, I thynke her wilbe bot few and I thynk a reasonable numbur ware best: for I suppose she wyll declare hyr self to be a (true) woman for all men bot for the Kyng at the or of hyr dethe: for this mornyng she sent for me that I myght be with hyr at such tyme as she reysayved the gud lord to the intent I shuld here hyr..... towchyng her innosensy alway to be clere & in the writynge of this she sent for me, and at my commyng she sayd M. Kyngston I heare saye, I shall not dy affore none, & I am very sory ther fore; for I thowtht to be dede now and past my payne. I told hyr, it should be now payne it was so sotell. Then she sayde I have heard saye the execut' was very gude and I have a lytel neck, and put her hand abowt it lawyng hartely. I have sen many men and also wemen executed and that they have bene in grete sorrowe, bot to my knowynge thys Lady hasse meche joy and plesur in dethe. Sr hyr ammoner hathe bene contynewaly with hyr and hasse bene syns ij of the clock after mydnyght."[167]

On the same day, the imprisoned Queen sent for Lady Kingston into the Presence Chamber of the Tower, and having locked the door, commanded her to sit on the

[167] Ellis's Original Letters, 1st series, Vol. ii. p. 64, 2nd ed.

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throne, or chair of estate. When that lady had complied with her request, she fell on her knees before her, solemnly protested her innocence, and expressed her sorrow for her harshness towards her daughter-in-law, the Princess Mary. This latter circumstance, in the opinion of an old writer, weighs strongly in her favour; for, says he,—"as shee cleared her conscience of the lesser crimes, so undoubtedly would shee haue done of the greater, if any had been committed."[168]

On the following morning, Anne, whose youth, beauty, and apparent innocence would, it was feared, create a popular sensation in her favour, if publickly executed, was brought to the block on the green within the Tower. It is said that she resolutely refused to have her eyes covered with a bandage, and as she turned them, whilst her head was on the block, towards the executioner, who had been brought over from Calais as more expert than any in England, he had not courage to strike, and at length effected his purpose by stratagem. He took off his shoes, and whilst another person approached her on the right, he advanced on the left, and with one blow severed her head from her body; her remains were placed in a common wooden chest made for holding arrows, and were interred together with those of her brother, Lord Rochford, in the neighbouring chapel.[169] Such was the untimely fate of her, who, but three years before had entered this very fortress adored by the King and caressed by the people; and whose faults, if faults they

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[168] Speed's Historie of Greate Britaine, ed. 1632, p. 1016.

[169] Burnet's History of the Reformation, Vol. i. p. 205.—See also Lord Herbert's History of the Reign of Henry the Eighth.

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were that were proved against her, were counterbalanced by her many virtues and good qualities.

From this period, each revolving year of Henry's darkened reign brought more tenants to this gloomy abode. In 1536, Thomas, Lord Howard contracted a marriage with Margaret Douglas, the King's niece, without the royal consent; for this offence they were both committed to the Tower, where Lord Howard died, and from which his lady was, subsequently, released.[170] In the following year, the insurrections in the north, occasioned by the promulgation of the reformed doctrines and the dissolution of the smaller religious houses, consigned to the prisons of the Tower numerous occupants. Among these were, the Lords Darcy and Hussey, Sir Robert Constable, Sir John Bulmer and his lady, Sir Francis Bigot, Sir Thomas Percy, brother of the Earl of Northumberland, Sir Stephen Hamilton, William, son of Lord Lumley, Nicholas Tempest, and Robert Aske; also, the Abbots of Rivaulx, Fountaines, and Jervaux, with the Prior of Bridlington, who were all convicted of treason, and suffered death. Lord Darcy was beheaded on Tower Hill, and Lord Hussey at Lincoln. Constable was hanged in chains at Hull, and Aske in like manner at York. The wife of Sir John Bulmer was burnt in Smithfield, and the rest were excuted at Tyburn.[171]

In 1538, Henry Pole, Lord Montague; Henry Courtenay, Marquis of Exeter; Sir Edward Neville, Sir Nicholas Carew, and others, having been accused by Sir Geoffry Pole, brother of the first nobleman, of holding a traiterous correspondence with Cardinal Pole, were

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[170] Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. iii. p. 796, et seq.

[171] Hall's Chronicle, ed. 1811, p. 824.

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attainted in parliament, and imprisoned in the Tower, together with the Marchioness of Exeter, the Countess of Salisbury, Cardinal Pole, her son, Sir Adrian Fortescue, and Thomas Dingley.[172] The two lords, with Neville and Carew, were subsequently beheaded on Tower Hill; Pole was sentenced to perpetual confinement; the Marquis of Exeter was afterwards pardoned: but Fortescue and Dingley were beheaded, and the Countess of Salisbury, after having been closely confined until 1541, was brought to the block without trial, charged with having favoured the Popish party and with corresponding with her son, the Cardinal, who had been previously banished. Of this lady it is related, that when conducted to the scaffold which had been erected for her execution on the green in the Tower, she refused to lay her neck upon the block, affirming that she was no traitress. The executioner therefore followed her round the platform, striking at her head with his axe, and in this shocking manner she was literally chopped to death.[173]

In 1540, Doctor Wilson, and Sampson, Bishop of Chichester, were committed to the Tower for affording relief to persons who had denied the royal supremacy, and for having disobeyed the mandates for the regulation of the church, issued by Cromwell in his capacity of Vice-regent; but having made humble confession of their errors, were, after a few months' confinement, liberated.[174] *Cromwell* himself, who had long directed and

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[172] Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol iii. p. 807.

[173] Lord Herbert's History of the Reign of Henry VIII., in Kennet's Complete History of England, Vol. ii. p. 227.

[174] Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials, edit. 1816, Vol. i. p. 520.

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controuled the power and opinions of the King and of the council, was now doomed to suffer confinement in those cells, to which his determined opposition to the doctrines of the church of Rome, had consigned so many others. The part which he had taken in promoting the suppression of the religious houses, had made him an object of fear and hatred to the papists, and he had incurred the displeasure of his fickle sovereign by having advised his unhappy marriage with Anne of Cleves. Of this latter circumstance, the Duke of Norfolk and Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, who were now rapidly rising into favor, took speedy advantage. Articles of accusation were secretly preferred against him, and his arrest was instantly determined upon, and as suddenly executed. He was seized on the 10th of June, 1540, whilst sitting in the Council Chamber at Westminster, and was conveyed to the Tower, accompanied by the rejoicings of the Catholic party, and the lamentations of those who professed a different creed, and could appreciate his merits and his virtues both as a minister and as a man.

In the Tower he underwent an examination, and was shortly afterwards attainted in Parliament, as one whom "the King had raised from a base degree to great dignities and high trusts, but who had now, by a great number of witnesses, persons of honor, found him to be the most corrupt traitor and deceiver of the King and crown that had been known during the whole reign."[175]

After his attainder, he wrote several letters to his royal master entreating for mercy: but Henry's heart

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[175] Burnet's History of the Reformation, Vol. i. p. 434.

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was steeled against all supplications, by his encreasing attachment to Lady Katharine Howard, against whom Cromwell entertained dislike; and, on the 28th of July following, this most highly gifted man, and upright minister, was beheaded on Tower Hill "by a ragged and boocherly miser, whiche very ungoodly perfourmed the office." In the Cottonian MS. Titus, B. i. are numerous "Remembrances" in Cromwell's own hand writing, of which the following are connected with persons confined in the Tower about this period.—"Item, certayn persons to be sent to the Towre for the farther examenacyon of the Abbott of Glastoñ.—To send Gendon to the Towre to be rakkyd, and to sende Mr. Bellesys, Mr. Lee, and Mr. Peter to assyst Mr. Levetennaunt in the 'xamynacion.—Item, how that this daye I and my Lorde of Worcester be in hande with the Lord Darcye at the Towre."

In the same year, Lord Hungerford of Heytesbury, and Leonard, Lord Grey, brother to the Marquis of Dorset and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, were also beheaded on Tower Hill, after a previous confinement in this fortress; the former for having procured a person to conjure how long the King should live, and the latter for various treasonable practices committed in Ireland. Lord Dacres also suffered on the same spot, for a murder which he had committed.[176]

The death of Cromwell, and subsequent power regained by the King's Catholic advisers, caused the metropolitan prisons, and especially the Tower, to be crowded with *heretics*, otherwise Protestants, amongst

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[176] Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. iii. pp. 817, 818.

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whom were many eminent divines. On the 30th of July, 1541, Dr. Robert Barnes, Thomas Garard, and William Jerone, all priests, and some of Luther's earliest converts, were dragged on hurdles from the Tower, and burnt in Smithfield; and on the same day, Doctors Abel, Fetherstone, and Powel, the professors of the very opposite tenets, suffered a similar fate for denying the King's supremacy, after a previous confinement in that fortress.[177]

The interest of the Catholic party again declined on the discovery of the criminal conduct of the Queen, *Katharine Howard*, who, together with Lady Rochford, the confidant of her amours, and three gentlemen, named Mannoc, Derham, and Culpepper, were committed to the Tower. Mannoc and Derham confessed that they had held criminal intercourse with the Queen, previous to her marriage, and circumstances were proved which left little doubt of her subsequent connection with Culpepper.[178] The bill by which she was attainted states, that she had met that gentleman "in a secret and vyle place, and that, at an undue hower of xi a clocke in the night, and so remayned there with him till three of the clocke in the morninge, none being with them but that bawde the Lady Jane Rochford, by whose meanes Culpeper came thither."[179] On the 10th of December, Culpepper and Derham were hung at Tyburn. Shortly afterwards, Agnes, Duchess of Norfolk, the Queen's grandmother, Lord William Howard,

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[177] Hall's Chronicle, edit. 1809, p. 840.

[178] Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. iii. p. 822.

[179] Statute, Ao 33, Hen. VIII., Chapter xxi.

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his lady, the Countess of Bridgewater, and many other persons of both sexes were committed to the Tower, for having concealed the Queen's offence; and, in February following, the Queen and Lady Rochford were beheaded on the green within that fortress.[180] The Duchess of Norfolk and some others were afterwards pardoned; Lord Howard died in the Tower in 1542, and the rest were confined for life.

Early in the same year, Arthur Lisle, Viscount Plantagenet, who had been lodged in this prison on suspicion of favouring a design to betray the Town of Calais to the French, died from joy on hearing that his innocence was established.[181]

About the same time, Roland Hill, and Henry Suckliffe, Sheriffs of London, were committed to the Tower for refusing to release a member of Parliament who had been arrested for debt; and one of their officers was placed in the "*Little ease,*" a dungeon in that prison, so called from the smallness of its dimensions.[182]

After the battle of Solway Moss, in the year abovementioned, the Earls of Cassels and Glencarne, the Lords Fleming, Grey, Maxwell, Oliphant, and Somerville, with other Scotch nobles and leaders, to the number of one and twenty, who had been taken prisoners at that celebrated fight, were conveyed to London, and lodged in the Tower. Here they remained two days, when they were conducted, by the Constable and Lieutenant of that fortress and a numerous guard, to the Court of the Star

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[180] Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. iii. p. 822.—Also Ellis's Original Letters, 1st series, Vol. ii. p. 128.

[181] Hall's Chronicle, edit. 1809, p. 843

[182] Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. iii. p. 825.

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Chamber at Westminster, where they were severally given into the custody of various noblemen and gentlemen who were made answerable for their appearance. That the procession from the Tower to Westminster might be more imposing, the King provided for the prisoners, at his own cost, gowns of black damask, black velvet coats, satin doublets, shirts, and other apparell.[183]

In April 1546, happened in the Tower one of those singular occurrences for which natural causes cannot always be assigned. One *William Foxley*, pot-maker to the mint, fell into a *trance*, from which he could not be awakened "with pricking, cramping, or otherwise burning," for upwards of fourteen days and nights. The cause of this long sleep could not be discovered, although he was examined by the royal physicians, and even by the King himself.[184] About the same time the Tower became the prison of the celebrated martyr, *Mrs. Anne Askewe*, who was charged with having in conversation denied the corporeal presence of Christ in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. After having been tried in Guild-hall, she was reconducted to that fortress, where she was twice put to the rack, and finally burnt in Smithfield.[185] It is said that the Queen, Katharine Parr, would also have shared the same fate, had not the Lord Chancellor, Wriothesly, lost a warrant signed by the King, for her committal to the Tower. The contents of this document, which had been conveyed to her by the person who found it, preyed so much upon

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[183] Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. iii. p. 829. [184] Ibid. p. 854.
[185] Speed's Historie of Greate Britaine, edit. 1632, p. 1031.

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her mind, that she was attacked by a serious illness, during which she was visited by, and reconciled to, the King. Shortly afterwards, she was taking an airing, accompanied by some of the courtiers, when the Chancellor and a guard of forty men appeared for the purpose of arresting and conveying her to the Tower. But the King, who was also present, having changed his mind, saluted the Chancellor with the epithets of "knave, foole, and beast," bidding him avaunt out of his presence. Katharine, ignorant of the cause of her lord's displeasure, interceded in Wriothesly's behalf. "Alas! poore soule," replied he, "thou little knowest, Kate, how euill he deserueth this grace at thy hands: of my word, sweet heart, he hathe been towards thee a very knave."[186]

The next historical event belonging to the annals of this fortress, is the visit of the Lord High Admiral of France, the Bishop of Evreux, the Earls of Nauntevile, and Villiers, with other French nobles, after the conference of Guysnes and Arde. On that occasion, the distinguished persons above-mentioned landed at Greenwich, whence they were conducted by the Earls of Essex and Derby, in the royal barge, to the Tower. On their landing at the wharf, they were saluted by the discharge of artillery, and were afterwards partakers of a splendid banquet prepared for the occasion. From the Tower they were escorted to the Bishop of London's Palace, and thence to Hampton Court, where they ratified a treaty between the two nations.[187] The history of the Tower during this eventful reign concludes with the

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[186] Speed's Historie of Greate Britaine, edit. 1632, p. 1032.

[187] Hall's Chronicle, edit. 1809, p. 867.

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imprisonment of *Thomas Howard*, third Duke of Norfolk, and his eldest son, the celebrated and accomplished *Earl of Surrey*. Sir Walter Raleigh, in his preface to the "History of the World," speaking of the former of these noblemen, says, "Henry knew not how to value his deservings, having never omitted anything that concerned his own honour and the King's service;"—and of the other, that "he had never committed anything worthy of displeasure, that he was valiant, learned, and of excellent hopes." Norfolk had ever been subservient to the will of his royal master; he had sacrificed to his cause his worldly interests, his religious principles, and even the ties of affection: but the rising influence of the Seymour family, and the treachery of his own relatives, caused his ruin. The chief accusations urged against him and his son were, that they had not only spoken disrespectfully of the King and the Council, but had conspired to gain possession of the person of Prince Edward, after Henry's decease, (which was evidently approaching,) and to seat themselves upon the throne. Surrey was more particularly charged with quartering the arms of King Edward the Confessor. On these and other frivolous accusations they were, unknown to each other, lodged in the Tower on the 12th of December, 1546. Surrey was brought to trial on the 13th of the following January, and, having been found guilty, was re-conducted to the Tower, and, on the 18th of the same month, was executed on the neighbouring Hill.[188] The Duke remained a close prisoner

[188] Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. iii. p. 861.—For a full account of the life and writings of this elegant poet and distinguished soldier, see Walpole's "Works," edit. 1799, Vol. i. p. 299; and

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in the Tower, whence he sent a petition to the Lords of the Council, requesting that some books might be procured for him from Lambeth; "for," adds he, "unless I have books to read ere I fall asleep, and after I wake again, I cannot sleep, nor have done these dozen years. That I may hear mass, and be bound upon my life not to speak to him who says mass, which he may do in the other chamber, whilst I remain within. That I may be allowed sheets to lie on; to have licence in the day-time, to walk in the chamber without, and in the night be locked in as I am now. I would gladly have licence to send to London to buy one book of St. Austin, '*de Civitate Dei*,' and one of Josephus '*de Antiquitatibus*,' and another of Sabellius, who doth declare most of any book that I have read, how the Bishop of Rome, from time to time, hath usurped his power against all Princes by their unwise sufference."[189] Notwithstanding the hypocrisy displayed in the latter clause of the preceding letter, orders were issued for his decapitation on the morning of the 29th of January; but news arriving at the Tower that the King himself had expired during the night, the Lieutenant deferred the execution of the warrant: and it was not thought advisable by the Council, to begin a new reign by the death of a nobleman of such high rank, and who had been condemned by a sentence so unjust and tyrannical. He did not, however, regain his liberty until the accession of Queen Mary.

On the 31st of January, 1547, the Earl of Hertford

Wharton's "History of English Poetry," edit. 1824, Vol. iii. p. 288, et seq.

[189] Seward's Anecdotes, edit. 1798, Vol. i. p. 113.

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and other noblemen conducted the young Prince, Edward, from his residence at Hatfield to the Tower, where he was received with great pomp and ceremony by the nobility assembled to meet him. During his residence there, he received the honor of knighthood from the sword of the Protector, Hertford, and in return conferred on that nobleman the title of Duke of Somerset. On the 24th of the ensuing month, the preparations for the coronation having been completed, Edward rode from the Tower to Westminster, accompanied by the pageants and devices usually attendant upon that ceremony. Among them was "an argosine, *(sailor,)* who came from the batilment of Saint Poule's Churche, upon a cable, beyng made faste to an anker at the deane's doore, liyng uppon his breaste, aidyng hymself neither with hande nor foote, and after ascended to the middes of the same cable, and tumbled and plaied many pretie toies, wherat the Kyng with other of the peres and nobles of the realme, laughed hartely."[190]

Edward had scarcely ascended the throne, when the tranquillity of the kingdom was disturbed by *Thomas, Lord Seymour*, the King's uncle, and brother to Somerset, who, having been disappointed by the government in his addresses to the Princess Elizabeth, endeavoured, by conspiracy, to overcome all opposition. He was, however, arrested on the 19th of January, 1549, and committed to the Tower, where, although visited and exhorted to submission by the ministers of state, and deputations from both houses of Parliament, who were reluctant to proceed to extremities against one so

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[190] Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. iii. p. 866.

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nearly allied to the reigning monarch, he continued obstinately silent, and refused to answer the articles preferred against him. Sentence of death was, therefore, pronounced, and his brother, the Protector, compelled to sacrifice his private feelings to the public good, signed the warrant for his execution. He was beheaded on Tower Hill, and his remains were interred in the chapel within the Tower.[191]

Seymour's death was followed by a general insurrection in various parts of the kingdom, and the formation of a powerful faction, headed by the aspiring Dudley, Earl of Warwick, and other nobles, against the Protector, himself. The Catholic party were his declared enemies; the execution of his brother, and the introduction of foreign troops into England, displeased the public, and he was rendered still more unpopular by the great property he had acquired to the detriment of the church and the crown. Of these circumstances his enemies took advantage, and, after holding a meeting at Ely-Place, London, in October, 1549, they obtained possession of the Tower, and, having removed Sir John Markham, the Lieutenant, appointed Sir Leonard Chamberlain to his post. Somerset, alarmed at these proceedings, hastened to Windsor, and fortified himself within the Castle; but, finding that the inhabitants of London and the garrison of the Tower had declared against him, he surrendered to the factious nobles, and was by them imprisoned, with many of his friends, in the latter fortress, and deprived of his high office.[192]

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[191] Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. iii. p. 906.

[192] Ibid. Vol. iii. p. 1014.

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In the Tower he was visited by the Lords of the Council, who preferred various charges against him; but that these were in a great measure unjust, is evinced by the fact that the proceedings were relinquished, and that he was subsequently restored to liberty, and reconciled to the Earl of Warwick, by an intermarriage between the families.

About this time, the Tower became the prison of several eminent divines who had incurred the displeasure of the Council by their adherence to the rites and ceremonies of the Church of Rome, and by their opposition to the reformed doctrines. Among these was *Stephen Gardiner,* Bishop of Winchester, who, having preached contrary to the King's injunctions set forth for "the reformation of errors, superstitions, and abuses in the Church," was arrested, and on the 30th of June, 1548, conveyed to the Tower, where he was several times examined, but behaved with such insolence to his judges, that an order was issued for removing him to a meaner lodging than he had previously occupied,—for limiting him to only one attendant, to be appointed by the Lieutenant,—for debarring him of all visits and correspondence, and from the use of pen, ink, and paper.[193] From Stow's Annals, and from the Bishop's answers to the articles preferred against him, and published in Fox's "Acts and Monuments," we obtain many interesting particulars relative to his confinement. The former says—"Now when the Duke of Somerset was first apprehended, Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, then being a prisoner in the Tower, was borne

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[193] Carte's History of England, edit. 1752, Vol. iii. p. 250.

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in hand, he should be set at liberty; in hope whereof, he prepared him new apparel for that purpose, thinking verily to have come abroad within eight or ten days: but when he was forgotten, and nothing said unto him by the space of one month after, he thought it good to put the Lords in remembrance by his letters; wherein, after commendations he had unto them, he wrote as followeth. 'I have continued here in this miserable prison now one year, one quarter, and one month, this same day that I write these my letters, with want of air to relieve my body, want of books to relieve my mind, want of good company, the only solace of this world, and, finally, want of a just cause why I should have come hither at all.' More of this letter," Stow says, "came not to my hands, but the Lords took it in good part, and laughed very merily thereat, saying, he had a pleasant head: for reward whereof they gave him leave to remain still in prison five or six weeks after, without saying or sending any word to him." This silence on the part of the Council induced Gardiner to send to that board, "from y^e^ toure," a spirited letter of remonstrance against the injustice of his imprisonment, but without any beneficial effect.

When the Duke of Somerset regained his power, the case of this prelate was taken again into consideration, and the Duke with others, were ordered to confer with him in the Tower, on the 9th of June, 1550. It was by them proposed that he should make submission for what had passed, should testify his approbation of all that had been done in religious matters since his imprisonment, and should promise obedience for the future. To the two last points Gardiner readily assented; but, perceiving that as he became more submissive his exa-

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miners became more importunate, he at length told them he would agree to nothing in a prison, and that he sought neither favour nor pity, but justice. He was, consequently, deprived of his bishoprick, denied the privilege of walking in an open gallery, which he had previously used, and was closely confined to his room, whence he was only released on the accession of Queen Mary.[194]

The other prelates confined in the Tower about this time were *Heath*, Bishop of Worcester, and *Day*, Bishop of Chichester; both of whom were deprived of their sees in 1550; the former for having refused to subscribe to the new book of ordinances, and the latter for having disobeyed a mandate for the removal of altars within his diocese. *Tunstal*, Bishop of Durham, was also committed to that fortress in 1551, on suspicion of having favoured a conspiracy for raising a rebellion in the north. In the latter year it again became the abode of the *Duke of Somerset*, who, by his unguarded expressions, and opposition to the ambitious projects meditated by Dudley, (who had now assumed the title of Duke of Northumberland), had incurred the enmity of that aspiring nobleman. On the 16th of October, Somerset, the Lord Grey, David and John Seymour, Hammond and Neudigate, two of the Duke's servants, Sir Ralph Vane, and Sir Thomas Palmer, were arrested and committed to the Tower; and, on the following day, the Duchess of Somerset, Sir Miles Partridge, Sir Michael Stanhope, and some others, were lodged in the same prison.[195]

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[194] Cassan's "Lives of the Bishops of Winchester," 8vo. 1827. Vol. i. pp. 440, et seq.

[195] Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. iii. p. 1032.

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The following is a list of the dresses and of other accommodation which the Duke and Duchess prayed to have at the time they were in the Tower.[196] The reader will probably think them characteristic, especially of the Duchess. "Grandeur in a dungeon," observes Mr. Ellis, "is not often desired by a captive."[197]—"Things necessarie for the *Duke of Somerset*, which he prayeth to have: One gowne, one velvet cappe, one night cappe; two dubletts; ij. payre of hose; iij. shirtes; ij. night kerchers; vi. hande kerchers; iij. dusson pointes; ij. payre of velvet shoes; iij. table clothes; iij. hande towells; iij. cupbourde clothes; one dusson table napkings; $x^{li.}$ in money to paye for his washinge, clensinge, and other necessaries."

"Things necessarie for the *Duches of Somerset*, which she prayeth to have. Firste one waste cote of velvyt wrought; ij. payre of knitte hose; ij. payre of knitte sleves; one payre of wollen hose, which was in a plate cheste that Mistres Susan kepte; vij. plane smockes which was last made; vj. highe collerd patletts and ruffes to the same; vj. wayste smockes, whereof iij. wrought; vj. froc kerchers, whereof iij. fyne; ij. duble railes; vj. hand kerchers; the laces that Mistres Pursley had in keapinge; the crimisyn satten boxe with the stuffe that is in it; a gowne of blacke velvyt egged with genetts, or else the gowne of blacke satten egged with black jenetts; a kirtle of blacke velvet playne; a verdingale; a peace of skarlet for a stomycher; a piece of pointinge ryben; some blacke silke and white threde; iij. little books covered with blacke velvyt

[196] Cottonian MS. Brit. Mus. Titus, B. ii.

[197] Original Letters, 2nd series, Vol. ii. p. 215.

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which be in the cheste where this linning lyethe; ij. payre of gloves; one payre of lether slippers; xx^{li} in money to paye for wassinge, clensinge, and other necessaries; ij. standing pottes for wyne and bere; ij. cuppes for bere, and a nest of boilles for wyne; vj. silver disshes, and ij. silver sawcers, and one dusson of pewder dishes; iiij. sylver plates; iiij. sylver spoones; iiij. table clothes; iiij. hand towells; ij. dusson table napkins; iiij. cupboarde clothes."

On the 2nd of December, the ill-fated Duke was conducted from the Tower to Westminster, where he was charged by Sir Thomas Palmer, with having formed a design to raise an insurrection in the North, to attack the gens d'armes on a muster day, to secure the Tower, and to excite a rebellion in London. Of these charges he was acquitted, but was found guilty of having entertained designs against the life of the Duke of Northumberland; and as an act of the preceding reign had made it felony to conspire against the life of a minister of the King, he was sentenced to death.[198] As his condemnation was a very unpopular measure, it was thought politic to devise means of diverting the public attention; and the approach of Christmas favoured the design. It was therefore provided that that festival should be celebrated with unusual splendour, and that open house should be kept at the royal palace of Greenwich. On this occasion, the Tower likewise became the scene of festivity. The lord of mis-rule landed at its wharf on the 4th of January, 1552, and entered the fortress, where "sundrie sights and devices of rare inventions" were exhibited for the "contentment" of the populace.

[198] Carte's History of England, ed. 1752, Vol. iii. p. 262.

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He then proceeded into the city where the same scenes were re-enacted, and afterwards returned by the Tower to Greenwich.[199] But no sooner were these "merie disports" ended, than the unfortunate nobleman was led from his prison to the neighbouring hill, on which, notwithstanding the express prohibition of the civic authorities, numberless spectators were assembled. He ascended the scaffold, and was about to address the bye-standers; when "sodenly," says a relator of the event, "came a wonderous ffeare apon the peoplle, by a great sowend whych appered unto many abowe in the element, as yt had byne the sowend of gunpowder set on fyer in the armourie of the Toure, and by another sowend apon the growend as yt had byn the flyght of a greate nomber of greate horses ronnynge on the people to overe ronne them: so great was the sowend of thys, that the peoplle fell dowen one apon the other, many wythe bylles, and other rone som thys waye some that waye, cryeng alowed—'Jesus save us, Jesus save us.' Many of the peoplle cryeng 'thys waye thaye come, that waye theye come, awaye, awaye.' And I loked when one or other shuld stryke me on the hedd, so was I stonned. The peoplle beyng thus amassed, espyes Syr Anthony Browen apone a lytell nage rydyng toward the scaffold, and therewythe burste out cryenge in a voyce 'Pardon, Pardon, Pardon,' hurlyng up their cappes and clokes wythe thes words saying, 'God save the Kynge, God save the Kyng.'"[200] The duke in the mean while stood a silent spectator of the scene, and when order was again

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[199] Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. iii. p. 1033.

[200] Ellis's Original Letters, 2nd series, Vol. ii. p. 216.—The alarm, according to Stow, was occasioned by the sudden and hasty

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restored, having exhorted the assembled multitudes to fidelity and loyalty towards their sovereign, he was beheaded, and thus resigned that life which had ever been spent in the faithful and active service of his King and of his country.

Somerset's death was followed by the execution of his unjustly-accused friends, Sir Thomas Arundel, Sir Michael Stanhope, and Sir Ralph Vane. Lord Grey and the Earl of Arundel, who were also implicated in Somerset's disgrace, were released; but Lord Paget, who was charged with having conspired to invite certain noblemen to his residence, with the design of murdering them, was deprived of his offices and honours, and kept a prisoner in the Tower until the next reign, when the Duchess of Somerset was also liberated.

That the latter captive, although closely confined, was not deprived of the necessaries, or even luxuries of life, is evident by the following list of "the Daily Dietts of the Duches of Somsett being in the Towre."[201]

Dynner.		Suppr.	
Mutton stewed wth potage	viij^{d}	Mutton and Potage ..	vj^{d}
Beef boilde	viij^{d}	Slyced Beef	vij^{d}
Boilde Mutton, 1 legg ..	v^{d}	Mutton rost	viij^{d}
Veale, rost	x^{d}	Coneys, ij	x^{d}
Capon, rost, 1	ij . iiij^{d}	Larks or other 1 doz. ..	x^{d}
Coneys, ij	x^{d}		

Dyner and Suppr. Pr. sum by the weke.

Bred, x^{d}.,— Bere, viij^{d}.,— Wyne, viij^{d}. Wood, coills, and candull by the weke, xx^{d}. } iiij^{li} xvij^{s}

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approach of the Train band of the Tower Hamlets, which had been ordered to attend on the Lieutenant of the Tower, for the preservation of the peace.

[201] Lansdowne MS. Brit. Mus. No. 113, art. 32.

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Md.—That the lieutenñt dothe fynde the said duches all nappery, playte, pewter vessaille, spices, the rosting of her meat, butter to baust the same, w^th^ diff^t^ other charges w^che^ be needed, as venigre, mustard, various, onyons, salletts, and other."

Another person who incurred the royal enmity about this time, in consequence of his friendship with Somerset, was the Lord Chancellor, *Rich*, whose resignation of the great seal is said to have been occasioned by a blunder of his servant. The latter having been sent to the Tower with a private letter, addressed "*To the Duke*," only, instead of giving it to the Duke of *Somerset*, for whom it was intended, delivered it to the Duke of *Norfolk*. Rich, discovering the mistake, and thinking that the letter would be used by the latter nobleman to effect his ruin, begged permission to retire from office, on the plea of old age and ill health.[202]

The death of Edward the Sixth, in 1553, gave Northumberland and his partizans an opportunity of endeavouring to attain that summit of dominion they had so long coveted. They immediately adopted measures for securing the persons of the princesses, Mary and Elizabeth, secured the Tower, and gave instructions for fortifying it and putting it in a state of defence.[203] On the 9th of July in the same year, Lady Jane Grey, who had married Lord Guildford Dudley, Northumberland's fourth son, and had been appointed by the late King as his successor, urged on by her ambitious relatives, made her public entry as Queen, into that fortress within which she was so shortly afterwards to suffer imprisonment,

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[202] Carte's History of England, ed. 1752, Vol. iii. p. 264.

[203] Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials, 8vo. Vol. iv. p. 5.

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and an untimely death.[204] The council had made preparations for crushing all opposition to their measures; they had fitted out twenty ships of war, which, being supplied with ammunition and provisions from the Tower, lay in the Thames, ready to sail at a moment's notice; they had privately levied forces, and had confined many of the nobility in the Tower, where the other prisoners were more closely imprisoned than ever. But, notwithstanding these precautions, many of the principal gentry in Norfolk and Suffolk promised their assistance to the Princess Mary, on condition that she would make no alteration in the established religion. To suppress this rising opposition, Northumberland, the Marquis of Northampton, and Lord Grey, proceeded with an army to Bury Saint Edmund's. In the mean time, the Earls of Pembroke and Arundel, with some others, who had been left in attendance upon the person of Lady Jane in the Tower, whence they were not suffered to depart without the permission of the Duke of Suffolk, espoused the cause of the former Princess; and having assembled at Baynard Castle, under pretence of conferring with the French ambassador, and of raising forces to assist Northumberland, seized the Tower in her name, and proclaimed her Queen. Finding that opposition was useless, the Duke of Northumberland returned to Cambridge, where he and the Marquis of Northampton, as a dernièr resort, seconded the proclamation, hoping thereby to escape the fate which awaited them. But on the 25th of July, Northumberland with his three sons, Sir Andrew Dudley, his brother, the Earl of Huntingdon, Lord Hastings, Sir Thomas Palmer, and Sir Henry and Sir John Gates,

[204] Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. iii. p. 1065.

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were committed to the Tower; where they were followed the next day, by the Marquis of Northampton, Lord Robert Dudley, the Bishop of London, Sir Robert Corbet, and the two chief justices, Cholmondeley and Montague. On the 27th of the same month, the Duke of Suffolk, Sir John Cheke, and Sir John York, were conveyed there likewise; and these were shortly afterwards joined by *Lady Jane Grey*, and her unfortunate husband, *Lord Guildford Dudley*.[205]

In the beginning of the following month, Mary made her triumphant entry into London, and proceeded directly to the Tower, when she released many persons who had been imprisoned therein upon various charges during the two preceding reigns. Amongst these were the Bishops of Winchester, Worcester, Chichester, and Durham, whose offences have been previously noticed, and Bonner, Bishop of London. The Duke of Norfolk, Edward, Lord Courtenay, afterwards Earl of Devonshire, the Duchess of Somerset, and some others at the same time, recovered their freedom.[206] The Queen held her court in the Tower, until the interment of her brother, and there avowed her determination to subvert the religion of the established church. On the 18th of August, the Duke of Northumberland, the Marquis of Northampton, and the Earl of Warwick, were conveyed from the Tower to Westminster, where they were arraigned and found guilty of high treason, and sentenced to death. On the following day, Sir Andrew Dudley, Sir John and Sir Henry Gates, and Sir Thomas

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[205] Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. iv. pp. 1, 2.

[206] Carte's History of England, Vol. iii. p. 286.

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Palmer, were also condemned to die.[207] Even after his condemnation, *Northumberland* appears to have entertained hopes of pardon. In a letter addressed to the Earl of Arundel on the evening previous to the day appointed for his execution, he says,—"Alas my good Lord, is my cryme so heynous as noe redemcion but my blood can washe awaye the spottes thereof? An old proverb there is, and y^t^ most true, y^t^ a lyving dogge is better than a dead lyon. Oh! that it would please her good grace to give me life, yea the life of a dogge, if I myght but lyve and kiss her feet, and spend both life and all in her honb^le^ services."[208] Notwithstanding the servility displayed in the above passages, on the 22nd of August, the Duke, with Sir John Gates and Sir Thomas Palmer, having first heard mass in the Tower Chapel, were conducted to the neighbouring hill. On the way to the scaffold, the two former spent their time in mutual recrimination, each accusing the other as the cause of the death which awaited them.[209] On the platform, the Duke denied the faith which he had avowed during the two preceding reigns, and openly harangued the multitude in favour of Popery, still hoping to save his life; but without effect.[210] He then laid his head upon the block, and received that death he had so justly merited. Thus died the Duke, who, in prosperity, was the most ambitious and arrogant, as in adversity he was the most abject and degraded of human beings. His fellow-sufferers acknowledged the justice of their sentence, and sub-

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[207] Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. iv. p. 4.

[208] Harleian MS. Brit. Mus. No. 789. [209] Ibid. No. 2194.

[210] See his Confession in Bayley's Hist. of the Tower, App. Vol. ii. p. xlviij.

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mitted themselves to their fate with manly fortitude and resignation.

These executions were succeeded by the release of the Marquis of Northampton, Lord Ferrers, the Earl of Warwick, the two chief justices, and many others who had been instrumental in the attempt to raise Lady Jane to the throne; but their cells in the Tower were speedily re-occupied by different ministers of the Protestant Church, amongst whom were Cranmer and the Archbishops of Canterbury and York; who, together with Dr. Ridley, late Bishop of London, remained in the Tower till the 8th of March, in the following year, when the Lieutenant was commanded to deliver them to Sir John Williams. By him they were conveyed to Oxford, and burnt at the stake.[211]

Further executions or committals were suspended for a time, to prevent popular dissatisfaction at the Coronation. Previous to the performance of that ceremony, Mary proceeded to the Tower, accompanied by her sister, the Princess Elizabeth, and on the 30th of September, rode thence to Westminster, "on a chariot of cloth of tissue," drawn by six horses, "trapped with the like cloth of tissue;" her dress was of "purple velvet, furred with powdered ermyns," on her head she wore "a kail of cloth of tinsele, beeset with pearle and stone," above which, was "a circlet of gold beeset with precious stones, so massie and ponderous, that she was faine to beare up her head with her hand."[212] This ceremony with its attendant pageantries, for a time averted the

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[211] Bayley's Hist. of the Tower, Vol. ii. p. 426, from the Yelverton MSS.

[212] Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. iv. p. 6.

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fate of Lady Jane Grey and her husband; but they were scarcely concluded, when those noble prisoners, together with Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Lords Ambrose and Henry Dudley, were conveyed from the Tower to the Guild-hall. They were found guilty of "having levied war against the Queen, and conspired to set up another in her place," and were re-conducted to the Tower; but it is probable that their lives might have been eventually spared, had not the rebellion of Sir Thomas Wyatt and the Duke of Suffolk (caused by their dislike to Mary's intended marriage with Philip, of Spain,) not only hastened their death, but caused the prisons of the Tower to be filled with other victims.

Although the more prudent part of the nobility thought that the people were not prepared for a general revolt, yet some persons more turbulent than the rest, believed that it would be safer to prevent than to redress their grievances. Sir Thomas Wyatt proposed to raise Kent; Sir Peter Carew, Devonshire; and the Duke of Suffolk, who hoped to regain the crown for his daughter, the Lady Jane, the mid-land counties. Carew's impatience or apprehensions induced him to take the field before the day appointed; the measures of the conspirators were thus disconcerted, and that gentleman having been defeated by the Earl of Bedford, was compelled to seek refuge in France. On receiving this intelligence, the Duke of Suffolk, with his brothers, the Lords Thomas and Leonard Grey, endeavoured to raise the people in the counties of Warwick and Leicester; but being closely followed by the Earl of Huntingdon, the Duke dispersed his retainers, and concealed himself at Ashley Park, where he was betrayed to the enemy by one of

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his followers, and conducted, together with John, Lord Grey, to the Tower of London. Wyatt, however, was at first more successful in his attempt; and after having published a declaration at Maidstone against the Queen's marriage, advanced with a numerous force to Rochester, near which place he defeated the Duke of Norfolk and Sir Henry Jerningham, who had been sent against him. He afterwards proceeded with his partizans to Gravesend, where he was met by several members of the privy council, by whom he was required to disband his followers, and make known his grievances to her Majesty in a less disorderly manner; to this he assented, but required amongst other things as a security for the safety of his person, "the custody of the Tower, and the Queen within it." These conditions having been declined, he advanced towards London, when the Queen was advised to retire into the Tower, but refused. She did not, however, neglect to interest the citizens in her favour, by promising not to marry Philip, of Spain, if the match should prove disagreeable to the nation in general: and at the same time offered a reward of one hundred pounds yearly to the person who brought Wyatt's head. Unappalled by his perilous situation, that daring leader, on the 3rd of February, marched towards the capital, and, on approaching the Tower, was fired upon by the garrison, but without effect. He retired to Kingston, where he passed the river with four thousand men; and returning towards London, he hoped to encourage his partizans to join him. He had imprudently wasted so much time in Southwark, that the critical season was entirely lost; and, although he entered Westminster without resistance, his followers deserted him, and he was seized, with most of his officers, by Sir Maurice

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Berkeley, near Temple Bar. Holinshed, after giving a detailed account of the preceding transactions, says,—"As for the principals of this faction, Thomas Wiat, William Knevet, Thomas Cobham, two brethren named Mantels, and Alexander Bret, were brought by Sir Henry Jerningham, by water to the Tower, prisoners, where Sir Philip R. Denny received them at the bulworke, and as Wiat passed by he said; 'go, traitor, there was never such a traitor in England;' to whom Sir Thomas Wiat turned, and said, 'I am no traitor, I would thou shouldst well know thou art more traitor than I, it is not the point of an honest man to call me so,' and so went forth. When he came to the Tower gate, Sir Thomas Bridges, the Lieutenant, took him through the wicket, first Mantell, and said; 'Ah thou traitor, what hast thou and thy companie wrought.' But he, holding downe his head, said nothing. Then came Thomas Knevet, whom Master Chambeleine, gentleman porter of the Tower, tooke in. Then came Alexander Bret, whome Sir Thomas Pope tooke by the bosome, saieng; 'Oh traitor, how couldest thou find in thy heart to worke such a villanie, as to take wages, and being trusted ouer a band of men, to fall to hir enemies, returning against hir in battell.' Bret answered, 'yea I have offended in that case.' Then came Thomas Cobham, whome Sir Thomas Poines tooke in, and said, 'Alas Maister Cobham, what wind headed you to worke such treason;' and he answered, 'Oh sir, I was seduced.' Then came in Sir Thomas Wiat, whom Sir John Bridges tooke by the collar and said, 'Oh thou villen and unhappie traitor, how couldest thou find in thy hart to worke such detestable treason to the queenes maiestie, who gaue thee thy life and liuing once alreadie,

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although thou diddest before this time beare armes in the field against hir, and now to yeeld hir battell. If it were not (saith he) but that the lawe must passe upon thee, I would sticke thee through with my dagger.' To the which, Wiat holding his arms under his side, and looking grieuously with a grim looke upon the Lieutenant, said; 'It is no maisterie now;' and so passed on. Thomas Wiat had on a shirt of maile, with sleeues verie faire, thereon a veluet cassocke, and a yellow lace, with the windlace of his dag hanging thereon, and a paire of boots on his legs, and on his head a faire hat of veluet, with a broad bone worke lace about it. William Kneuet, Thomas Cobham, and Bret, were the like apparelled."

On the two succeeding days, George Cobham, Sir William Cobham, Anthony Knevet, Hugh Booth, Thomas Vane, Robert Rudstone, Sir George Harper, Edward Wyat, Edward Fog, George Moore, Cuthbert Vaughan, and other gentlemen, who were implicated in Wyatt's rebellion, were also lodged in the Tower; where they were joined on the 11th of the same month, by Sir Henry Islie, habited in "an old freese cote, an old paire of hosen, all his apparell not worth foure shillings." Two persons named Culpeper, one Cromar, and Thomas Rampton, the Duke of Suffolk's secretary, were shortly afterwards conveyed to the same prison.

No sooner were Wyatt's adherents secured, than the young, beautiful, and accomplished *Lady Jane Grey*, and her unfortunate husband, the *Lord Guildford Dudley*, fell victims to the jealousy and intolerant bigotry of their heartless sovereign. The Duke of Northumberland had declared previous to his death, that "so far from aspiring to the crown, they were rather by

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enticement and force made to accept it." But recent events had satisfied the Queen, that so long as they were living, attempts would be made to undermine the stability of her throne. She had, moreover, it is said, a personal enmity against the Lady Jane, for her strict adherence to the doctrines of the reformed religion, and the undisguised contempt with which she had treated the ceremonies of the Church of Rome. In confirmation of the latter assertion, it is stated by Fox, in the Appendix to his "Acts and Monuments," that when very young she chanced to pass a Catholic Chapel in company with Lady Wharton, and observing her make a courtesy to the consecrated host, which hung over the altar, asked her whether the Virgin Mary were there or not? "No," replied Lady Wharton, "but I made a courtesy to him who made us all." "How can he be there," retorted the Lady Jane, "who made us all, when we know that the baker made him?" This conversation was reported to the Queen, and is reported to have been the cause of the enmity which she evinced towards that lady.

On the 8th of February, Feckenham, the Queen's confessor, and afterwards Abbot of Westminster, was sent to the Tower, to acquaint the Lady Jane and her husband that they must prepare for death, and to exhort them to embrace the Catholic Faith. They were, however, proof against his remonstrances, and expressed their determination not to renounce the doctrines of that church in which they had been educated, and which they had avowed through life. The 12th of the same month was therefore appointed for their execution, and the intermediate time was spent by these unhappy victims of despotic power in religious exercises. Lady Jane is said to have scratched with a pin on the wall of

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the room in which she was imprisoned, the following lines, expressive of her resignation to her untimely fate.

Non aliena putes homini quæ obtingere possunt,
Sors hodierna mihi cras erit illa tibi.[213]

To mortals' common fate thy mind resign,
My lot to-day, to-morrow may be thine.

It was originally intended by the Council, that both Lady Jane and her husband should have been beheaded on Tower-Hill, but, lest the beauty, merit, and innocence of the former should excite the emotions of the populace, it was resolved that she should suffer within the walls of the fortress. When this arrangement became known to Lord Dudley, he requested a final interview; but she declined a scene which she thought would too strongly affect the feelings of both, and shake that constancy which their approaching end required of them. On the day appointed, Lord Dudley was led to the scaffold, and, as he passed beneath the window of "Maister Partridge's house," in which his consort was confined, he received from her a last sad token of remembrance. At the bulwark gate he was met by the Sheriff and many of his friends, of whom he took an affecting adieu; and, after offering his supplications to heaven, and requesting the prayers of the assembled multitude, he submitted to his fate.

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[213] Seward's Anecdotes, edit. 1798, Vol. i. p. 134.—The above lines have also been translated thus: vide Nicholas's "Life of Lady Jane Grey," p. 61.

Think not, O mortal, vainly gay,
That thou from human woes art free;
The bitter cup I drink to-day,
To-morrow may be drank by thee.

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When the Lady Jane witnessed the melancholy spectacle of the headless body of her husband, which the executioners were conveying in a cart to the Tower Chapel, she exclaimed,—"O Guildford, Guildford! the ante-past is not so bitter that thou hast tasted, and which I shall soon taste, as to make my flesh tremble: it is nothing compared to the feast of which we shall partake this day in heaven." On the Lieutenant of the Tower appearing to conduct her to a like fate, and requesting some small present which he might keep as a memorial, she presented to him her tablets, in which she had just written three sentences on seeing the lifeless body of her husband; one in Greek, another in Latin, and a third in English. At the scaffold she addressed the by-standers, acknowledging that she was guilty of having accepted, although with the greatest reluctance, a crown to which she had no legal right; and avowing that although her youth and the entreaties of her relatives might be deemed apologies for her offence, yet, a regard for the peace and welfare of the state induced her to submit, without murmuring, to those laws which punished all attempts against the dignity of the lawful sovereign. She afterwards prayed fervently, "and then," according to Holinshed, "stood vp and gaue hir maid (called Mistress Ellin) her gloues and handkercher, and hir booke she also gaue to Maister Bridges, (brother of) the Lieutenant of the Tower, and so untied hir gowne: and the executioner pressed to helpe hir off with it, but she desired him to let hir alone, and turned hir toward hir two gentlewomen, who helped

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[214] Fox's Acts and Monuments.

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Execution of Lady Jane Grey.

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hir off therewith, and with hir other attires, and they gaue hir a fair handkercher to put about hir eies. Then the executioner kneeled downe and asked hir forgiuenesse, whom she forgaue most willinglie. Then he willed hir to stand vpon the straw, which doone, she saw the blocke, and then she said, 'I pray you dispatch me quicklie.' Then she kneeled downe, saiing, 'Will you take it off before I laie me downe?' whereunto the executioner answered, 'No, Madame.' Then tied she the handkercher about her eies, and, feeling for the blocke, she said, 'Where is it? where is it?' One of the standers-by guided hir thereunto, and she laid downe her head vpon the blocke, and then stretched forth hir bodie, and said, 'Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit,' and so finished hir life."[215]

The execution of Lady Jane Grey and her husband formed but a prelude to the sanguinary tragedies which disgraced this reign. On the 17th of February, the *Duke of Suffolk* was conveyed from the Tower to Westminster for trial; and, having been found guilty of high treason, was brought to the scaffold on the 23rd of the same month. He was accompanied to the block, much against his inclination, by Dr. Watson, a violent Catholic, who, attempting to ascend the platform, was thrust down by the Duke; he again endeavoured to mount, but was again repulsed by that nobleman, who, however, at last permitted him to approach, on being informed that it was the Queen's pleasure. After having addressed the spectators in acknowledgment of his guilt, and said his prayers, he delivered his cap and

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[215] Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. iv. p. 23.

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scarf to the executioner, who, as was then customary, begged and received his forgiveness, with a request to perform his office quickly. As he was going to lay his head upon the block, a person to whom he owed money drew near, and demanded payment; he referred him to his officers, and then bowed his head, which was at one blow severed from his body, and was afterwards exhibited to the by-standers as that of a traitor. Other participators in Wyat's ill-concerted rebellion were shortly afterwards put to death. Sir Henry Isley, Thomas Isley, and Walter Mantel, were hanged at Maidstone; Anthony and William Knevet, and another of the Mantels, suffered in like manner at Seven-Oaks; Rudston was also executed; and Bret, who had commanded the Londoners, was hanged in chains at Rochester.[216] Besides these, upwards of fifty persons of less note suffered on the block, or at the gallows, in the City of London: gibbets were erected in the most public parts of the metropolis, "and there, loaded with victims, were allowed for months to stand as monuments of Mary's vindictive and persecuting spirit, and to the latest ages to blacken the blackness of her inglorious reign." Some of the rebels, it is true, were pardoned, and of those, about four hundred were led from the Tower and other prisons, to the Tilt-yard at Westminster, where the Queen, standing in a gallery erected for the occasion, pronounced her forgiveness.[217]

Wyat, after his apprehension, had uttered expressions tending to criminate the *Earl of Devonshire* and the

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[216] Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. iv. p. 24.

[217] Speed's Historie of Greate Britaine, edit. 1632, p. 1116.

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Princess Elizabeth. The former was, consequently, seized, on the 12th of February, and committed to the Tower; and three of the Council were sent by the Queen to Ashbridge with a strong guard to escort the Princess, who lay sick there, to London. When they arrived, at ten o'clock at night, she had retired to rest and refused to see them: they, however, forced admission into her chamber, and to her remonstrance against the rudeness of their behaviour, said it was the Queen's pleasure that her grace should be in London on a given day, and that their orders were to bring her "quick or dead." She was accordingly removed by easy stages to Whitehall, where she remained in close confinement for a whole fortnight, without being permitted to converse with any one except her attendants. On the Friday before Palm Sunday, Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, with nineteen others of the Council, came from the Queen, and charged Elizabeth with having been concerned not only in Wyat's conspiracy, but in the rebellion of Sir Peter Carew. They then informed her that it was her Majesty's command that she should be lodged in the Tower until the matter could be more fully inquired into; and, notwithstanding her protestations of innocence, the Lords told her there was no remedy. "On the following day," says Holinshed, "two Lords of the Council (the one was the Earl of Sussex, the other shall be nameless) came and certified her grace, that forthwith she must go unto the Tower, the barge being prepared for her, and the tide now ready, which tarrieth for nobody. In heavy mood her grace requested the Lords that she might tarry another tide, trusting that the next would be better and more comfortable. But one of the Lords replied that

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neither time nor tide was to be delayed." She then requested permission to write to the Queen, which having been granted by the Earl of Sussex,[218] she addressed to her a letter in which she says,—"without cause provid I am by your Counsel frome you commanded to go unto the Tower; a place more wonted for a false traitor, than a true subject;" and, after denying the charges preferred against her, continues—"I humbly beseche your Majestie to let me answer afore your selfe, and not suffer me to trust to your Counselors; yea, and that afore I go to the Tower, if it be possible, if not, afore I be further condemned. Howbeit, I trust assuredly, your Highnes wyl give me leve to do it afor I go; for that thus shamfully I may not be cried out on, as now I shalbe; yea, and without cause."[219] By the time the above letter was finished, the tide had turned, and as it was feared that popular dissatisfaction would be exhibited if the Princess were conducted through the City, her committal was delayed until the next day, Palm Sunday, when the citizens were directed to repair to church, carrying their palms; and, during the procession, Elizabeth was conveyed down the Thames, unobserved. As the barge approached the Traitor's Gate, she refused to land there; and when one of the Lords who escorted her threatened to use force, she placed her foot upon the stairs and said aloud with the energy peculiar to her character, "Here landeth as true a subject being a prisoner, as ever landed at these stairs, and before thee, O God, I speak it, having none

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[218] Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. iv. p. 123, et seq.

[219] Ellis's Original Letters, 2nd series, Vol. ii. p. 254.

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other friends than thee." Proceeding a little onward she seated herself upon a 'cold stone,' and being pressed by the Lieutenant to rise, she said, "better sit here than in a worse place; for God knoweth, and not I, whither you will bring me." Her Gentleman Usher, who was much attached to his royal mistress, hereupon burst into tears, for which she reproved him, telling him that "she took him to be her comforter," and requesting him not to "dismay her, especially since she knew her truth to be such that no man should have cause to weep for her." Whilst in the Tower, her confinement was of the most rigid description;—the mass, although odious to her, was constantly performed in her apartment;—she was not, at first, allowed to pass beyond the threshold of the room in which she was confined; and when afterwards she obtained that privilege, through the intercession of Lord Chandos, she was constantly attended by the Lieutenant and Constable of the Tower with a guard.

Holinshed gives an amusing account of an altercation between the Lord Chamberlain, then Constable of the Tower, and those of the Princess's attendants who were appointed to provide for her provisions and necessaries. It appears, that the latter having brought her daily diet to the outer gate of the Tower, were compelled to deliver it to the "common rascall souldiers," and thinking it unfit that it should be entrusted to such persons, requested, of the Lord Chamberlain, permission to convey it themselves. This he not only refused, on the plea that she was a prisoner and should be treated as such, but also, when they remonstrated with him, threatened that "if they did either frown or shrug at him, he would set them where they should neither see sunne

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nor moone." On application, however, to the Lords of the Council, they appointed fourteen of the Princess's own servants to superintend the cooking of her viands. At this the Lord Chamberlain was much displeased, and at first continued to annoy them by various means, although he afterwards behaved more courteously.—"And good cause why," adds the Chronicler, "for he had good cheare, and fared of the best; and her grace paied for it."[220]

During her imprisonment, the Princess was frequently examined by the Council; but, notwithstanding their utmost endeavours, nothing satisfactory could be proved against her; and although Wyat, who was executed on the 11th of April, had, with his dying breath, declared her innocence, she was kept in the Tower until the 19th of the following month, when she was removed to Woodstock.[221]

Of the other prisoners who had been implicated in Wyat's conspiracy, Thomas, the youngest son of Lord Cobham, and John, Lord Grey, were tried and condemned, but were subsequently pardoned; the Marquis of Northampton, Lord Cobham, and others, were released without trial; and the Earl of Devonshire was removed to Fotheringay Castle.[222]

Although many other prisoners, of inferior note, were at different times liberated, the Tower was still occupied by numerous captives who had been concerned in the attempt to raise Lady Jane Grey to the throne, or in Wyat's subsequent rebellion. Among the former were

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[220] Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. iv. pp. 121, 135.

[221] Lodge's Illustrations of British History, Vol. i. p. 193.

[222] Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials, Vol. iv. pp. 159, 160.

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the Earl of Warwick and his brothers, Lords Ambrose, Robert, and Henry Dudley, the sons of the late Duke of Northumberland. The Earl of Warwick died in the Tower on the 21st of October, but his brothers were released by the Council in January, 1555, together with the Archbishop of York, (who had been confined for refusing to attend Queen Mary's coronation,) Sir Edward Warner, Sir George Harper, Sir Nicholas Arnold, Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, Sir William Seintlowe, Sir John Harrington, Edmund Tremayne, Sir Andrew Dudley, Sir James Crofte, Cuthbert Vaughan, Sir Gawen Carew, Mr. Gybbs, Sir John Rogers, and many others. Their release was thought to have been a political measure intended to reconcile the people to the Queen's marriage with Philip of Spain, and was attributed to his intercession.[223]

On the 10th of December, 1555, Sir Anthony Kingston, whose name has frequently occurred in the preceding pages, was committed to the Tower for contempt of Parliament, but was released on the 24th of the same month. In that year the Tower was also the abode of Sir John Cheke, an eminent divine, and preceptor to the late King Edward the Sixth, who regained his liberty by adopting the Catholic Faith.[224] In 1556, the increasing authority of the Spaniards in this country having caused much dissatisfaction, a party of refugees, headed by Thomas, second son of Lord Stafford, attempted to raise an insurrection in the north. They landed at Scarborough, and gained the Castle, but were

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[223] Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. iv. p. 74.

[224] Bayley's History of the Tower, Vol. iv. p. 449. From Yelverton MSS.

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overpowered by the Earl of Westmoreland, and many of the leaders were taken prisoners and committed to this fortress. Stafford was beheaded on the neighbouring hill, and most of the others were hung at Tyburn.[225]

About the same time, John, Lord Bray, was lodged in the Tower on suspicion of having been concerned in a traitorous correspondence with France, and a plot to rob the Exchequer, in order to furnish money to raise troops for the disturbance of the tranquillity of the kingdom; but the charges against him appear to have been unfounded, for his name occurs, a few months afterwards, amongst the English of distinction who were present at the siege of Saint Quintin.

The following extract of a letter addressed by one Robert Swyft, to the Earl of Shrewsbury, on the 22nd of June, 1556, contains some interesting particulars relative to the latter nobleman, whilst confined in the Tower. It says—"At my Lade's (Lady Bray's) cumynge to London my Lord Breye was in closse pison in the Flett, and the Tewsday foloynge he was removed to the Toure, and ther remaynethe in closse pison. Howbeyt his frends is sovered to releve him wt meit and drynke, wche meyt & drynke is delyvered at the Towre gatte, to one of the iij gaylors, as they call them, appoynted to serve & attende apon the pisoners there; wch releve by his owne frends, as I can lerne, doth not excede; for almoste every daye sume of his men wch lyngers here in the towne is cūynge to my Ladye to bege sume peace of meyte for him, so that she is dryven to releve him now

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[225] Carte's History of England, edit. 1752, Vol. iii. p. 340.

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& then w^t^ sume lyttel thynge, as her poure woll serve. I can not perceyve that his owne frends dothe eny thinge for him to eny purposse and, as to her, good woman, they offer her no gentlenes, nor nothinge towards her charges, bot, yf they myght be sovered, for that y^t^ I see, cowlde be cõtentid to cume & put her to charge daylye."[226]

The death of Queen Mary on the 17th of November, 1558, and the accession of her sister Elizabeth to the throne, were events hailed with joy by the majority of the people. On the 28th of the same month, the latter Princess removed from Bishop's Hatfield, to London, and entered, amidst the acclamations of the assembled multitude, the gates of that fortress in which she had previously sustained so rigorous a confinement. On the 5th of December, she retired to Somerset House, but after the celebration of the obsequies of her deceased sister, returned to this fortress, preparatory to her Coronation. The procession from the Tower was one of the most splendid ever witnessed ;—the streets were strewed with flowers ;—banners of velvet, silk, and tapestry graced the walls and houses ;—the conduits ran wine ;—pageants and allegorical devices were exhibited in all the principal thoroughfares ;—complimentary and congratulatory orations were addressed to the Queen at various intervals ;—and the magistrates and city companies, in their richest liveries, swelled the gorgeous cavalcade of richly habited ladies, noblemen, and officers of state, who, from affection or duty, followed in her train.[227]

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[226] Lodge's Illustrations of British History, &c. Vol. i. p. 217.

[227] Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. iv. pp. 158. 176.

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During Elizabeth's reign, the Tower is seldom mentioned but as a state prison. The Protestants were indeed freed from persecution, but the professors of the Catholic Faith were, in turn, doomed to partake of the severities which disgraced the early periods of the Reformation, and cast a shade over the glories of the Elizabethan age. The despicable jealousy of her own sex, which marked the character of Elizabeth, (who, although as a Sovereign entitled to our praise and gratitude, cannot as a woman command our respect or esteem,) was another cause which tended to increase the number of captives in this dreaded fortress.

The first persons of distinction confined in the Tower in this reign, were the Bishops of Winchester and Lincoln, who had rendered themselves obnoxious by their conduct, in the discussion of certain articles in dispute, between the Catholics and Protestants.[228] In 1560, the Archbishop of York, the Bishops of Ely, Lincoln, Worcester, Exeter, and Bath, with Doctor Feckenham, late Abbot of Westminster, and other dignitaries of the Church, were committed to the Tower, for denying the Queen's supremacy; and from a list of the prisoners made on the 5th of September, 1562, it appears that the above persons were still in confinement there, and that the *Lady Catharine Grey*, her husband the *Earl of Hertford*, the Earl of Lenox, and others of inferior note, had also been lodged in the same fortress.[229] Lady Catharine was sister to Jane Grey, who had been beheaded some years before, and daughter of Henry, Duke of Suf-

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[228] Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. iv. p. 182.

[229] Bayley's Hist. of the Tower, Vol. i. p. 91, from original papers.

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folk. She had been previously married to Henry, Lord Herbert, the son and heir of William, Earl of Pembroke, but her affinity to the crown having excited the jealous fears of the Queen, that nobleman procured a divorce. For some time no other person addressed her, from apprehension of being involved in the like calamities which had befallen her father, and many other members of her family; but, about the year 1560, she entered into a secret contract with the Earl of Hertford, whose sister, the Lady Jane Seymour, resided with her at court, both, as maids of honour to the Queen. Her Majesty went one morning to Eltham, to hunt, when the two ladies, according to previous concert, having left the Palace at Westminster, by the stairs at the Orchard, went along by the sands to the Earl's House, in Chanon Row. The parties were there privately married, but returned to the Palace, in time for dinner in the Comptroller's Chamber. After the consummation of his nuptials, Lord Herbert went over to France, but the pregnancy of the Lady Catharine being shortly afterwards rumoured about the Court, and soon reported to the Queen, the Earl, by her command, was immediately summoned home. Being unable, within a prescribed time, to produce proof of his marriage, he was committed to the Tower, together with his wife.[230] Shortly after

[230] A list of the furniture with which the Lady Catharine's prison-room in the Tower was supplied from the wardrobe there, in August 1561, as contained in the Lansdowne MS. No. 5, Art. 41, may perhaps be acceptable to the reader. It consisted of five pieces of tapestry for hanging the chamber; three window pieces of the like stuff; a sparver for a bed, of changeable silk damask; a silk quilt of red striped with gold; a bed and boulster of downe with two pillows of downe; one white linnen-quilt stuffed with wool;

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her committal to the Tower, the Lady Catharine was delivered of a son; and Hertford having, by bribing the Keepers, subsequently gained access to her Chamber, the result was, the birth of another child. The Queen's anger was now at its height, and Lord Hertford was fined fifteen thousand pounds for his triple offence, in deflowering a virgin of the blood royal, breaking his prison, and second cohabitation with his wife. He was further sentenced to an additional imprisonment for nine years; and, although the ravages of the plague in 1563 induced the Queen to release the Earl and his lady from the Tower for a short period, yet they were again lodged there in 1564; and the latter died in that fortress, on the 7th of January, 1567.[231]

The *Earl of Lenox* was imprisoned in the Tower in 1561, on suspicion of having held a private correspond-

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four pair of fustians, the one of six breadths, the others of five; two carpets of Turkey making; one small window Carpet; one chair of cloth of gold raised with crimson velvet, with two pannels of copper gilt, and the Quenes Arms on the back; one cushion of purple velvet; two footstools covered with green velvet; one cubbard joined; and one bed, one boulster, and a counterpane for her woman. This list reads wells; but, from some marginal notes in the hand writing of Sir Edward Warner, the Lieutenant of the Tower, we learn that the whole was old, worn, broken, and decayed. We are further informed by a letter from that officer to Sir William Cecil, dated September 8th, 1563, that the Lady Catharine did further injury to this furniture "with her monkeys and dogs."—Lansd. MS. No. 7, Art. 32.

[231] The marriage between Lady Catharine Grey and the Earl of Hertford was not established until 1606; when the priest who had united them being produced, a jury at Common Law found it a good marriage.—Brydges's ed. of Collins's Peerage, Vol. i. p. 173.

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ence with the Queen of Scots, but he was released in the following year.[232] About the same period, the Tower became the abode of Margaret Douglas, his Countess, who, according to Camden in his "Life and Reign of Queen Elizabeth," was "thrice cast into the Tower, not for any crime of treason, but for love matters; first, when Thomas Howard, son of the first Duke of Norfolk of that name, falling in love with her, was imprisoned and died in the Tower of London; then for the love of Henry, Lord Darnley, her son, to Mary, Queen of Scots; and lastly, for the love of Charles, her younger son, to Elizabeth Cavendish, mother to the Lady Arabella, with whom the Queen of Scots was accused to have made up the match."

The next captives in the Tower, of whom mention is made in the pages of history, were Arthur and Edmund Pole, the great-grand-children of George, Duke of Clarence, who were accused of having conspired to raise Mary, Queen of Scots, to the throne of England.[233] On the 11th of October, 1569, *Thomas Howard*, fourth *Duke of Norfolk*, who, by his projected marriage with the Scottish Queen, had incurred the royal displeasure, was lodged in the Tower; but, in the following year, on account of the plague, he was permitted to remove to his own residence, the Charter-house.[234] Even whilst in the Tower, he appears to have continued his correspondence, and, when liberated, he embarked in projects which finally caused his ruin. A packet of letters from

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[232] Bayley's Hist. of the Tower, Vol. ii. p. 91.

[233] See the Account of the Beauchamp Tower.

[234] Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. iv. pp. 235. 254.

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one Rudolfi, a Florentine, who had been employed by the Duke in negociating with the Pope and the Duke D'Alva, having been intercepted, the suspicions of government were excited: and, although the Bishop of Ross had contrived to gain possession of the packet before the contents were known, the courier by whom it was conveyed, on being put to the rack, made confessions which caused the Bishop, with Sir Thomas Stanley, Sir Thomas Gerrard, and one Rolston, to be committed to this fortress.[235] Soon afterwards "a mass of money," with letters in cypher from the Duke to Mary's partizans in Scotland, were intercepted, and Higford, the Duke's Secretary, by whom the letters had been written, made a full disclosure, whilst confined in the Tower, of a plot meditated by his master and other conspirators, for the invasion of the realm, the release of the Queen of Scots, and the restoration of the Catholic Religion. Norfolk being ignorant of these confessions, when questioned by the Council, boldly denied the charges preferred against him. He was, however, conveyed to the Tower, together with Bannister, his adviser and confidant, the Earls of Arundel and Southampton, Lord Lumley, Lord Cobham, and Thomas, his brother, Henry Percy, and many other persons of inferior rank.[236] The Duke appears to have entertained designs of escaping from prison, as is evident from the following letter addressed by Sir Owen Hopton, the Lieutenant of the Tower, to the Earl of Leicester, and Lord Burleigh, on the 12th of January, 1571.[237]

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[235] Lodge's Illustrations of British History, Vol. ii. p. 53.

[236] Lodge, ut supra, p. 56.

[237] Bayley's Hist. of the Tower, Vol. ii. App. p. vii.

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"Right Honorable, wth my humble thankes for your gentyll adverticement for the betteringe of my service upon sundry complaynts: concerninge Terill and Peter Wells, my man, being examyned by Mr. Doctor Wilson and me, they offerid to be sworne; and Terill sayeth, that sithins the Duke his comytting to the Tower, hee was but once at the mariscalsee to speak with Loves; and Peter Wells sayeth, that hee was twice at the mariscalsee sithins the Duke his com'yttinge; fyrste, to speake with Loves, to borowe a rule and compasse for Mr. Hare, to drawe a platt wth, and another tyme to deliver to Fecknam two ryalls, wch he had to exchange for pence. The window at the Duke his previe looketh into a lyttel yarde, the doore whereof at the Duke his comynge, I so nayled up, that no man can cum thether, and for the other windowe to the gardyn ward; that gardyn is myne, wch is fensed but with lathes, and the doore locked; in the night the wache goeth continuallye hard by that gardin, and in the day time the warders and ther wyves, that dwell neere have a com'on cours that waye. So it is verie unlyke for anye to receyve letters there. Long sithins the prestes wyfe towld me, that shee did see a man in that gardin suspyciuslye, whereupon I appoynted my jaylor and other, to watche to take him, and at lengthe they tooke an undercooke of myne, that had made foure lathes loose to goo in to fetche herbes. For the keepers of my prisoners, the mr gaylor kepeth Cobham, Lowther, and Lassells, in *Bechams* Tower. The under gaylor being a verie trustie man, kepeth Hussye, Norton, Bates, Wylkinson, and Byshope, Cantrell, Hall, and Charles Baylie in *Colherborowe;* Echyngham, a nephew of my wives, (who hath served me thyrtene years) kepeth Powell and Bartue, in *Sault Tower.*

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Grenawaye kepeth Banyster and Barker. Herebye your honors maye perceyve that every prisoner hath not a severall keeper; what further by yo^r honors, or anye other of the previe counsell is comaunded, I do speedelye execute the same; but weare it not for the especiall trust that the quene hir hignes hath in me, (her poore servant) and the greate goodness which I fynde at yo^r honors hands, it would discoorage anye man to serve where complaints are so ryfe, and causes so small; but I have an untyred desire to serve hir ma^tie here or ells where. So beseching yo^r honorable favors, I humbly take my leave, from the Tower, the 12th of Januarye, An^o 1571.

Yo^r honors to comaund, as I am most bound
Owyn Hopton.

I trust yo^r honors consed^r how malyciuslye the bishop of Rosse used me, in throwing of his letter owt of the gardyn."[238]

On the 16th of January, the Duke of Norfolk was conducted from the Tower to Westminster Hall; and was there charged with having entered into a treasonable conspiracy for deposing the Queen, taking away her life, and invading the kingdom;—of having treated about a marriage with Mary Queen of Scots, knowing her pretensions to the crown of England;—with having supplied money to the Earls Northumberland and Westmoreland, and other the Queen's enemies;—and, with having craved the assistance of the Pope, for the liberation of the Queen of Scots, and the restoration of the Popish faith in England. The prisoner, who had been

[238] Bayley's Hist. of the Tower, Vol. ii. App. p. liv. from MS. in Turr. Londinensis penes Constabularium.

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denied the aid of counsel, entreated of his judges, a fair trial, and then attempted to prove (contrary to the allegations of Barham, the Queen's serjeant) that his intended marriage with the Queen of Scotland could not have affected the crown or life of his sovereign. "But," said Barham, in reply, "it is well known that you entered into a design for seizing the Tower of London, which is certainly the greatest strength of the Kingdom of England; and hence it follows, you then attempted the destruction of the Queen." The main charges were, after a protracted examination, fully substantiated by his own letters to the Pope, the Duke d'Alva, and Rudolfi; as also by the confession of Barker, his Secretary, and Bannister, his Counsellor; additional facts were also proved against him by intercepted letters from the Bishop of Ross, whilst in the Tower, to Mary Queen of Scots. Norfolk was, consequently, sentenced to be hanged, beheaded and quartered,[239] and was then reconducted to his prison, whence he addressed to his children various letters replete with paternal affection, admonitions, and advice.[240] The 11th of February appears to have been the day appointed for his execution; but the Queen, either moved by friendship and compassion towards a peer of his exalted rank and extraordinary merit, or willing to feign an appearance of clemency by which she was not actuated, twice signed the warrant for his execution, and twice revoked the fatal document. At length, however, the House of Commons urged his immediate execution as necessary for the

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[239] Camden's Life and Reign of Queen Elizabeth.

[240] Bayley's Hist. of the Tower, Vol. ii. pp. 479, et seq. and App. pp. lviii. et seq.

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preservation of the tranquillity of the realm, and his death was determined on.[241]

On the 2nd of June, the Duke was conducted to Tower-Hill, where a new scaffold had been erected for the occasion, and after he had addressed the populace in acknowledgment and extenuation of his offences, and read portions of scripture, "he rose uppe and pulled of his velvet gowne, his blacke saten dublett, and his velvet night cappe, and gave them to the executioner, and beinge in white fusthean waste, he said to m^r deane, 'this is the white satten doublet I made to dye in, w^ch the preacher did speake of;' and knellinge downe at the block, he layd downe himselfe, and did rise agayne, and did lay the strawe and other thing in suche sorte as he mighte in more convenyent manner yeld him selfe for the spedear execution; this done, his eyes and hands lifted upp, m^r deane desired the people of sylence, and said, nowe altogether w^th one voyce pray for hym, sayinge, Lord Jesus receyve thy soule, and after that, no more shouts nor noyce. And so all people w^th one lowd voyce cryed, 'Lord Jesus, receive thy soule.' The Duke yeldinge hym self to the blocke, refused to have any handkercher before his eies, and so his heade, w^th singuler dexteritie of the executioner was w^th th' appointed axe at one chop, off, and shewed to all the people. Thus he finyshed his life, and afterward his corpes was put into the coffyn appertaininge to Barkynge Church, w^th the heade also, and the buryall clothe leade on hym, and so was caryed by foure of the lyvetenants men and was buried in the chappell in the Towre by m^r dean of Paules."[242]

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[241] Carte's History of England, Vol. iii. p. 526.

[242] Harleian MS. British Museum, No. 834.

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Such was the untimely fate of Thomas, fourth Duke of Norfolk, a man whose talents and virtues, if properly directed, would have endeared his name to posterity; but, who, having become an object of suspicion to his sovereign, connected himself in the spirit of resentment, with a faction whose pernicious counsels blighted his fairest hopes, and eventually caused his death as a traitor to that Queen whom he had sworn to defend, and to those laws which he was bound to obey.

The next person who experienced the effects of Elizabeth's resentment was the *Bishop of Ross*, the Duke of Norfolk's fellow captive, and the chief instigator of the political schemes which led to the death of that nobleman. On his trial he boldly insisted on his privileges as an ambassador, and urged that to attempt the release and restoration to her throne, of the absolute and unjustly deposed Queen of Scotland, could not be accounted treason against the crown of England; but, notwithstanding his spirited defence, he was kept immured in the Tower upwards of two years, and was then banished the realm, into which he never returned.[243] Many other persons of inferior rank, who had been implicated in the Duke of Norfolk's designs, were executed; but the greater number were fined, and afterwards set at liberty.

The Tower, during several subsequent years, appears to have contained only a few captives: one of them, named Peter Burchet, who was a member of the Middle Temple, had been committed on the 11th of October, 1573, for attempting to murder Sir John Hawkins, the celebrated Admiral, whom he mistook for the Chancellor

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[243] Camden's Life and Reign of Queen Elizabeth.

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Hatton. "On the next morrow about noone," says Holinshed, "whilest one that had kept him companie was gone downe, and locked the doore after him, leauing another with him called Hugh Longworth, who stood at the window reading in the bible, the said Burchet walking vp and downe in the Chamber, tooke a billets end out of the fire, and knocked the said Longworth on the head, and left not till he had stricken him stark dead." For this offence he was condemned to death; and after his right hand had been cut off, for striking a blow in the Tower, one of the royal palaces, he was hanged at Temple Bar, near which place he had committed the assault on the admiral.[244]

In February 1577, a gentleman named Sherin, was drawn on a hurdle from the Tower to Tyburn, where he was hanged, for denying the Queen's supremacy; and, in the same month, six others were conveyed from the same fortress to Norwich, there to suffer a like punishment for coining.[245]

In the year 1580, the Tower cells again became filled with Roman Catholics and with English Jesuits, a class of persons whose determined opposition to the doctrines of the Reformed Church was calculated to produce the most serious consequences in this country. From the diary of a prisoner who was then confined in the Tower, we learn that in the month of June, William and Robert, the sons of Sir Robert Tirwhit, were lodged therein for having attended mass at their sister's marriage; and that the Archbishop of Armagh, the Earls of Kildare and Clanricard, with other Irish noblemen who had been concerned in the Earl of Desmond's insurrection in

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[244] Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. iv. p. 324. [245] Ibid. p. 345.

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Ireland, were committed to the same fortress. In the following December, it became the prison of Ralph Cerrin, Thomas Cotom, Robert Jonson, and Luke Kirby, all Catholic priests, and of Nicholas Roscar, and Henry Orton, laymen of the same persuasion; to whom were shortly added, John Posgrave, and John Hart, two other priests, and one John Paschal. The ensuing year commenced with a series of tortures, the recital of which is calculated to excite both pity and disgust. Some persons were confined in a dungeon twenty feet below the surface of the earth; others in the "Litel-ease," where they had neither room to stand upright, nor to lay down at full length. Some were put to the rack, or placed in "Scavenger's daughter," (Scavingeri filiam,) an iron instrument by which their head, hands, and feet were bound together. Many were chained and fettered, whilst others, still more unfortunate, had their hands forced into iron gloves which were much too small, or were subjected to the horrid torture of the *boot*. In addition to these severities, Sir Owen Hopton, the Lieutenant of the Tower, compelled them by military force to attend divine service in the chapel of that fortress, and then said in derision, "that he had no one under his custody who would not willingly enter a Protestant Church."[246]

Every successive month of the year 1581, brought to the Tower more captives, amongst whom, the most conspicuous was *Father Campion*, an emissary of the Court of Rome, who, by his seditious discourses, had endeavoured to excite rebellion in various parts of the realm. Having been tried at Westminster with many of his accomplices on the 20th of November, they were re-

[246] Bayley's Hist. of the Tower, Vol. ii. App. pp. lxxij. et seq.

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conducted to the Tower, and on the first of the following month, Campion, with Sherwin and Brian, two seminary priests, were dragged thence upon hurdles to ignominious deaths at Tyburn.[247] In May 1582, seven other priests were conveyed from the same prison, to various places of execution; and many of their fellow captives shortly afterwards either shared the same fate, or were fined and released.[248]

In the following year, various persons, the principal of whom were John Somerville, a gentleman of Elstow, in Warwickshire, his wife, her father and mother, and Hugh Hall, a priest, were committed to the Tower, charged with a design to murder the Queen. The lives of the two women and the priest were spared; but Somerville strangled himself in Newgate, whither he had been sent for execution; and his father-in-law, Arden, was hanged, bowelled, and quartered in Smithfield.[249] Early in 1584, several other Catholics were lodged in the same prison, and in March, five seminary priests were conducted thence to the scaffold. Three months afterwards, Francis, the eldest son of Sir John Throgmorton, who had been committed in the preceding November, having been found guilty of carrying on a treasonable correspondence with the Queen of Scots, shared the like fate.[250]

In January 1585, the cells of the Tower were cleared of those prisoners confined for religious offences, who to the number of twenty-one were shipped to France;[251]

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[247] Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. iv. pp. 447, et seq.

[248] Ibid. p. 488.

[249] Ibid. p. 510.

[250] Bayley's Hist. of the Tower, Vol. ii. App. p. lxxxi.

[251] Ibid. p. lxxxii.

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but their places were speedily occupied by others; among whom were the Earls of Northumberland and Arundell, who had been implicated in the treasonable practices of Throgmorton. The former was detained in prison until the middle of the following year, when to prevent that "bitch," as he termed the Queen, from getting possession of his estate by his attainder, he put a period to his existence by shooting himself.[252] Arundell, against whom the specific charges were, that he had relieved several priests,—had corresponded with Cardinal Allen, and with Parsons the Jesuit,—and had intended to leave the realm without permission,—was brought to trial in 1589, and his offences having been proved against him, by persons of indifferent character, he was condemned to die. But Elizabeth delayed his execution, although she continued to keep him in strict confinement, as appears from the following statement of Michael Blount, Esq. the Lieutenant, in July 1590.—"Philipp, late Earle of Arundell, is a close prison^r, and hathe noe other libertie than he had in s^r Owen Hopton's tyme, w^ch is to walke in the quene's gardeine twoe houres in the daie, w^th a servant of the Lieuten'ts to attende him, the gardeine doore beinge shoutt at the tyme of his walkinge."[253] This severity coupled with the strictest austerities of his religion which he constantly practised, hastened his death, which occurred in the Tower on the 19th of November, 1595. A memorial of his piety, said to be carved with his own hand on the wall of his prison room, is still remaining.[254]

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[252] Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. ii. p. 602.

[253] Lansdowne MS. British Museum, No. 65.

[254] See a subsequent Account of the Beauchamp Tower.

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Another prisoner committed to the Tower in 1585, was William Parry, a Catholic, who, instigated by the Pope, and other official members of the Church of Rome, came to England for the express purpose of murdering the Queen. Having communicated his intentions to one Edmund Nevill, that gentleman agreed to assist him in his undertaking, and they determined to shoot her Majesty when she was riding on horseback. But whilst waiting for a favourable opportunity to effect their purpose, the Earl of Westmoreland, to whom Nevill was next heir, died in exile, and the latter hoping that, by doing an acceptable service to the Queen, he should recover the forfeited estates of his deceased relation, revealed the plot, and Parry was consequently seized, and suffered the extreme penalty of the law.[255] Nevill, notwithstanding his duplicity and confession, remained a prisoner in the Tower for several years.[256]

In 1586, the Tower became the prison of many of those misguided persons who were concerned in Babington's conspiracy, the particulars of which are very fully detailed in the pages of general history; and in the following year it was also the abode of Davison, the Secretary of State, whose committal is considered to have been a political device of the crafty Elizabeth, to screen herself from the odium attached to the execution of the Queen of Scots. Notwithstanding this, and although he fully exculpated himself from the charge of having sent the warrant for Queen Mary's death, without Elizabeth's permission, he was detained in prison a considerable length of time, and completely ruined by the enormous

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[255] Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. iv. p. 554, et seq.

[256] Bayley's Hist. of the Tower, Vol. ii. App. p. lxxxiii.

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fine imposed upon him by the Court of Star-Chamber.[257] In 1588, Sir John Perrot, the Lord Deputy of Ireland, by whose impartial administration that unhappy country had been restored to a comparative state of tranquillity and peace, having incurred the enmity of Lord Chancellor Hatton, was recalled home, and on various charges of treason was committed to the Tower on the 8th of March, 1590. Although on his trial, in April 1592, no one charge was satisfactorily proved against him, except that he had spoken disrespectfully of the Queen, for which the well known warmth of his temper might have afforded some excuse, he was found guilty. When reconveyed to the Tower, he said to the Lieutenant in great anger, "What! will the Queene suffer her brother[258] to be offered up as a sacrifice to the envy of my strutting adversaries?" This was reported to the Queen, who thereupon said that his accusers were all knaves, and refused to sign the warrant for his execution. He died in the Tower, six months after his trial, as is supposed of a broken heart.[259]

From a memorandum of "the names of all suche prisoners as S^r^ Owen Hopton, knighte, delivered to the custodie of Michael Blount, Esquior, by indenture bearinge date the vj^th^ daie of Julie 1590,"[260] it appears that many other prisoners, besides those already mentioned, were at that time confined in the Tower. Amongst them were James Fitz Gerald, the only son of the Earl of Desmond,

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[257] Camden's Life and Reign of Queen Elizabeth.

[258] Sir John is said to have been an illegitimate son of King Henry the Eighth.

[259] Naunton's "Court, &c. of Queen Elizabeth."

[260] Lansdowne MS. British Museum, No. 65.

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who had been delivered into Elizabeth's power as an hostage for the fidelity of his father; and who, according to the memorandum, "hathe the libertie of the Tower, and so hathe had ever sithince he was comitted, and hathe accesse of all his friends." Florence Macarty, a name well known in the history of Ireland, was at the same time a captive "uppon the Earle of Ormonde his bonde of one thousand pounds and uppon the bonde of the said Florence Marcartie of twoe thowsand pounds, that he shall not depte the realme, nor above three miles oute of London, w^th^oute speciall licence from the LL. of her ma^ties^ privie counsell."

A list of "the names of suche prisoners as have beene receā in the Tower by S^r^ Michaell Blount, knighte, sithince the tyme that he hathe had the charge thereof," enumerates, amongst many others of inferior rank, Sir Thomas Fitz Herbert, who died in the Tower, in October, 1591, Sir Thomas Williams, the Bishop of Laughlin in Ireland, Sir Nicholas White, Sir Brian O'Rourke, "who hathe the libertie to walke on the leades over his lodging," and Sir Francis Darcye. These were all lodged in the Tower at the latter end of 1590, or in the following year, and were either instigators of, or partakers in, the turbulent scenes of which Ireland was about that time the theatre, or were otherwise suspected of some real or supposed plots against the Queen and government of England.

The next prisoner whose name appears in its annals, was *Sir Walter Raleigh*, who having incurred the Queen's displeasure by his amour with Elizabeth, the daughter of that celebrated statesman, Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, was, in 1592, lodged in the Tower, whence he appears to have gained his liberty by the

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most fulsome adulation to his royal mistress. Of this, the following letter from Mr. (afterwards Sir) Arthur Gorges to Sir Robert Cecil, presents a remarkable specimen.—"Honourable Sir. I cannot choose but advertise you of a strange tragedy that this day had like to have fallen out between the captain of the guard and the lieutenant of the ordnance, if I had not by great chance come at the very instant to have turned it into a comedy. For upon a report of her majesty's being at Sir George Carew's, Sir W. Ralegh having gazed and sighed a long time at his study-window, from whence he might discern the barges and boats about the Blackfriar's stairs, suddenly he brake out into a great distemper, and sware that his enemies had on purpose brought her majesty thither to break his gall in sunder with Tantalus' torment, that when she went away he might see death before his eyes; with many such like conceits. And as a man transported with passion, he sware to Sir George Carew, that he would disguise himself, and get into a pair of oars to ease his mind but with a sight of the Queen, or else he protested his heart would break. But the trusty jailor would none of that, for displeasing the higher powers, as he said, which he more respected than the feeding of his humour, and so flatly refused to permit him. But, in conclusion, upon this dispute they fell flat to choleric outrageous words, with straining and struggling at the doors, that all lameness was forgotten, and in the fury of the conflict, the jailor he had his new perriwig torn off his crown, and yet here the struggle ended not, for at last they had gotten out their daggers. Which when I saw, I played the stickler between them, and so purchased such a rap on the knuckles, that I wished both their pates broken; and so with much ado they stayed

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their brawl to see my bloody fingers. At first I was ready to break with laughing to see them two scramble and brawl like madmen, until I saw the iron walking, and then I did my best to appease their fury. As yet I cannot reconcile them by any persuasions, for Sir Walter swears, that he shall hate him, for so restraining him from the sight of his mistress, while he lives, for that he knows not (as he said) whether ever he shall see her again, when she is gone the progress. And Sir George, on his side, swears that he would rather he should lose his longing, than he would draw on him her Majesty's displeasure by such liberty. Thus they continue in malice and snarling; but I am sure all the smart lighted on me. I cannot tell whether I should more allow of the passionate lover, or the trusty jailor. But if yourself had seen it, as I did, you would have been as heartily merry and sorry, as ever you were in all your life, for so short a time. I pray you pardon my hasty written narration, which I acquaint you with, hoping you will be the peace-maker. But, good Sir, let nobody know thereof, for I fear Sir Walter Ralegh will shortly grow to be Orlando Furioso, if the bright Angelica persevere against him."

In a similar strain to the absurdities recounted in the preceding narrative, is an epistolatory effusion written by Sir Walter from the Tower, to Sir Robert Cecil, with a view that it should be shewn to the Queen, who was about to make her annual progress. In it, he says, —"My heart was never broken till this day, that I hear the Queen goes away so far off, whom I have followed so many years with so great love and desire, in so many journeys, and am now left behind her in a dark prison, all alone. While she was yet near at hand, that I might

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hear of her once in two or three days, my sorrows were the less, but even now my heart is cast into the depth of all misery. I, that was wont to behold her riding like Alexander, hunting like Diana, walking like Venus, the gentle wind blowing her fair hair about her pure face like a nymph, sometime sitting in the shade like a goddess, sometimes singing like an angel, sometimes playing like Orpheus," &c. Elizabeth, on whom flattery was never lost, at length compassionated her "love-stricken swain," and in September, 1592, he was released from durance.[261]

In 1594, one *Lopez*, a Jew, who was physician to the Queen, induced by the promise of large rewards from Fuentes and Ibara, the joint governors of the Netherlands, undertook to administer poison to his royal mistress in her medicine; but the plot having been discovered to the Earl of Essex, Lopez, with two of his confederates, were lodged in the Tower, and were subsequently hung, drawn, and quartered; Lopez, at his death, affirming that he "loved the *Queen* as much as *Jesus Christ*," a sentiment, which, coming from a Jew, afforded much mirth to the bye-standers.[262] The execution of these wretches did not deter others from making a similar attempt, and we find that, four years afterwards, the Tower became the prison of one Edward Squire, a groom in the royal stables, who, at the instigation of Walpole, a Jesuit, had engaged to deprive the Queen of her life, by anointing the pommel of her saddle with poison. The ingredients were applied in the prescribed manner, but without effect, and Walpole,

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[261] Caley's Life of Sir Walter Ralegh, ed. 1806, Vol i. p. 127.

[262] Camden's Life and Reign of Queen Elizabeth.

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being, as he supposed, duped, betrayed his unhappy victim to the government, by whom he was consigned to a deserved death.[263]

The ensuing year, 1599, proved fatal to that distinguished courtier and soldier, *Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex*, a nobleman, who, by the favour of his sovereign, had been raised to the highest honours of the state, and who, by his undaunted courage in the field, and wisdom in the Council, had gained the love of his country and the admiration of the world. In his military enterprises he had previously been eminently successful, but, having unadvisedly undertaken the government of Ireland, and the task of subduing those formidable factions by which that country was kept in a constant state of insurrection, he failed in the attempt; and, whilst surrounded by dangers and difficulties abroad, he was traduced by his enemies at home. Exasperated at his continued ill-fortune, and at the taunts and reproaches he constantly received from the ministry, he hastened, unbidden, to England, hoping to justify his actions in the presence of the Queen, and to refute the calumnies of his accusers. Several charges of misconduct in his important trust were, however, proved against him, and, after he had been deprived of his offices, and sustained a previous confinement in the Lord Keeper's house, he was examined by a select council, and banished the Court. His disgrace, and the continued resentment of the Queen, who tried to humble him still more by sarcastic remarks, such as "an unruly horse must be abated of his provender, that he may be the better managed," had such influence upon his mind, that at the instiga-

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[263] Camden's Life and Reign of Queen Elizabeth.

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tion of Cuffe, his secretary, he resolved to remove his enemies from about the Queen's person, by force. Returning to London, he kept open house for all kinds of disaffected persons, attended seditious meetings, spake contemptuously of the Queen, and finally engaged in those imprudent and ill-concerted projects which terminated both in his own destruction, and in that of many other persons who had espoused his cause. After an unsuccessful attempt to excite the citizens to arms, in February, 1601, the Earl and a number of his partizans, amongst whom were the Earls of Southampton and Rutland, Lords Sands, Cromwell, and Monteagle, Sir Charles Danvers, and Sir Henry Bromley, were seized in Drury House, and committed to the Tower.[264]

After an interval of a few days, the Earls of Essex and Southampton were arraigned in Westminster Hall; and to the charges of having sought to deprive the Queen of her life and crown,—of imprisoning the Lords of the Council,—and of having excited the Londoners to an insurrection, pleaded *not guilty;* but, after a trial of nine hours, conducted with the most disgraceful acrimony, a verdict was pronounced against them, and they were sentenced to death.

When re-conducted to the Tower, Essex expressed the greatest penitence for his offences, and requested to speak with some of the members of the Privy Council. He was accordingly visited by the Lord Keeper, the Lord Admiral, the Lord Treasurer, and Cecil, to whom he made a confession of every person who had been implicated in his designs, and told them, that so long as he lived, the Queen would never be safe. He in-

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[264] Camden's Life and Reign of Queen Elizabeth.

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veighed strongly against Cuffe, whom he accused of having instigated him to disloyalty; but the latter, in turn, taxed him with treachery for betraying those who had been most devoted to him.

In the mean while, the Queen, wavering between the remembrance of her former attachment to Essex, and the apprehensions which she entertained for her own person and reputation, was agitated and unresolved. She, at length, signed a warrant for the death of her favorite, then revoked it, and, after a protracted struggle between love, fear, and resentment, affixed her seal to the fatal document, by the authority of which, that brave and generous soldier and statesman was led to the scaffold.[265]

On the night before his execution, he addressed the guard of the Tower from his prison window, and, after requesting their prayers in his behalf, added, "I have nothing to give you, for I have nothing left but what I must pay to her Majesty in the morning." He then retired and spent the night in religious duties. On the following day, this illustrious prisoner, who had previously requested that he might be privately executed within the Tower, was conducted by the Lieutenant to a scaffold erected for the purpose on the green. He was habited in a gown of wrought velvet, a satin suit, and a felt hat, all black.[266] After he had ascended the platform, he bowed to the nobility, who were assembled to witness the fatal ceremony, and perceiving amongst them Sir Walter Raleigh, his most inveterate enemy, requested him to withdraw. Sir Walter, (who

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[265] Camden's Life and Reign of Queen Elizabeth.

[266] Harleian MS. British Museum, No. 2160.

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Elizabeth signing the Death-warrant of Essex.

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had attended for the avowed purpose of answering anything which might be objected to him in the Earl's final speech, but was suspected to have been present for the ignoble satisfaction of witnessing the dying sufferings of his unhappy victim,) complied with the request, and withdrew into the armoury, whence he witnessed the awful tragedy.[267]

After acknowledging the justice of his sentence, and his own sinfulness, the Earl declared that he died in the firm belief of the doctrines of the Protestant Church; and, after a short but fervent prayer, laid his head upon the block, and was immediately decapitated. This event took place on Ash-Wednesday, February the 25th, 1601.

The *Earl of Southampton* remained a close prisoner until released by special command from King James the First, in April, 1603.[268] It is related, that whilst in the Tower, he was surprised by a visit from a favourite Cat, which gained access to him by descending the chimney of his apartment, and, in a portrait of the Earl, formerly preserved at Bulstrode, it is represented sitting beside him.[269] Of the other conspirators, some were fined or imprisoned, and many were pardoned; but Sir Christopher Blunt, Sir Charles Danvers, Sir Gilley Merrick, and Henry Cuffe, were put to death; the two

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[267] This fact is stated by Camden, in his Life and Reign of Queen Elizabeth, and has been repeated by Hume: there is, however, strong reason to suspect that the statement is partially erroneous, as it was Sir Walter's duty to attend officially, as captain of the guard.

[268] Cottonian MS. Brit. Mus. Titus, B. vii. 144.

[269] Pennant's Account of London, ed. 1805, p. 260.

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latter being hung at Tyburn, and the former beheaded on Tower Hill.[270]

In 1603, James the First, who in that year had succeeded to the throne, held his Court in this fortress, but on account of the plague, the customary procession at the coronation was omitted; although, as the Londoners had made their preparations, "he passed triumphantly from the Tower to Westminter," preparatory to the opening of his first parliament, on the 15th of March, 1604.[271] Whilst the King was at Wilton, in the preceding December, the discovery of a conspiracy for placing the crown upon the head of the Lady Arabella Stuart, caused the imprisonment of many of those persons who were implicated in the plot. The principal of these were, Henry Brooke, Lord Cobham, George Brooke his brother, Thomas Lord Grey of Wilton, Sir Griffin Markham, Sir Edward Parham, Bartholomew Brookesby, and Anthony Copley, Esquires, Watson and Clarke, two Catholic priests, and *Sir Walter Raleigh*, to whose conspicuous character the conspiracy owes its chief importance in history. On the 15th of November, 1604, all the prisoners who had been conveyed to Winchester, having (with the exception of the Lords Cobham and Grey, and Sir Walter Raleigh) been arraigned, were found guilty upon their own confessions of a conspiracy to seize the Tower of London, and imprison the King therein, until he should agree to certain conditions which they had to propose. Two days afterwards, Sir Walter Raleigh was brought to the bar, at the same place, and charged, amongst other offences, with having

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[270] Camden's Life and Reign of Queen Elizabeth.

[271] Stow's Annals, by Howe, pp. 827. 837.

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declared "that it would never be well with England until the King and his cubs were taken away." After a trial conducted with the most bitter animosity, and in which, the only evidence produced was a confession made by Lord Cobham, *Sir Walter Raleigh* was, (notwithstanding a most able and spirited defence, in which his "answeres were enterlaced with arguments out of divinity, humanity, civill lawe, and comõn lawe," and notwithstanding the production of a letter written in the Tower by Lord Cobham, in acknowledgment of his innocence,) found guilty and sentenced to death.[272]

Lord Cobham on his trial, shewed "so poor and abject a spirit, that he disgraced the place to which he was called," and after denying every thing laid to his charge, was likewise condemned. *Lord Grey*, a young nobleman of great acquirements, whose personal hatred to the Earls of Essex and Southampton had induced him to join a party composed of their enemies, was next placed at the bar. He addressed a long and eloquent speech, first to the Lords, then to the Judges, and lastly to the King's Council, and held them the whole day, from eight in the morning till eight in the evening in "subtle traverses and escapes." He was, however, declared guilty, and when asked why judgement of death should not be pronounced against him, he replied,—"I have nothing to say." There he paused—"and yet a word of Tacitus comes into my mind—*Non eadem, omnibus decora;* the house of the Wiltons have spent many lives in their Prince's service, and Grey cannot beg his.

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[272] Caley's Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, ed. 1806, Vol. ii. p. 5.

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God send the King a long and prosperous reign, and to your lordships all honour."[273]

From a letter of Sir Dudley Carleton, we learn that George Brooke, the chief contriver of the conspiracy, was executed at Winchester, together with the two priests. Grey, Markham, and Cobham were reprieved on the scaffold, and the two lords, with Sir Walter Raleigh, were re-conducted to the Tower.[274] Cobham was, after several years' confinement, released, and died in a cottage in the Minories, belonging to a person who had formerly been his servant, and on whose charity he had thrown himself. Lord Grey ended his days in the Tower, in 1614, and Sir Walter Raleigh, after a captivity of twelve years, was led to the block.[275] "The life of a prisoner, however eminent, like that of a secluded scholar or monk, affords but little which can interest posterity." The anecdotes transmitted to us of Sir Walter's imprisonment are peculiarly scanty; but amongst the Hatfield papers, are two letters from Sir William Wade, the Lieutenant of the Tower, to Cecil, then newly created Earl of Salisbury. In the former of these, dated August 17th, 1605, he says,—"My Lord Treasurer and my Lord of Devonshire met at the Tower on Monday, at three of the clock in the afternoon, and gave me my oath. Though Sir Walter Raleigh used some speech of his dislike of me the day before, yet sithence he doth acknowledge his error, and seemeth to be very well satisfied." The second letter, on the 19th

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[273] Lord Hardwicke's State Papers, Vol. i. p. 377.

[274] See Caley's Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, edit. 1806, Vol ii. p. 17, et seq.

[275] Lodge's Illustrations of British History, Vol. iii. p. 215.

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of the same month, states that "Sir Walter Raleigh hath like access (with Cobham) of divers to him. The door of his chamber being alway open all the day to the garden, which indeed is the only garden the lieutenant hath. And in the garden he hath converted a little hen-house into a still-house, where he doth spend his time all the day in distillations." Sir William then gives the following list of persons permitted to have access to his prisoner.

His lady and son and her waiting-maid.

John Talbot,
Peter Dean,
John Talbot, a boy,
} these to remain in the Tower with him.

Gilbert Hawthorn, a preacher.

Dr. Turner,
Dr. John, a Surgeon,
John Shelberry,
Thomas Harriot,
His Steward of Sherborne,
} to repair to him at convenient time.[276]

The discovery of the Gunpowder Plot in 1605, caused Raleigh, who was unjustly suspected of having been privy to it, to be more closely confined, and also tended to throng the prisons of the Tower with other captives, whose names are still recorded on a marble tablet within the chamber, in which the council met to examine them.[277] In January, 1606, Thomas Winter, Guy Fawkes, Robert Keyes, and Thomas Bates, having been indicted for a conspiracy to blow up the House of Parliament with gunpowder; and Robert Winter, John Grant, Ambrose Rookwood, and Sir Everard Digby, for

[276] Birch's Collections in the Brit. Mus. No. 4160, cxxi.

[277] See the subsequent Account of the Lieutenant's Lodgings.

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being cognizant of the plan and for taking oaths of secrecy, were all found guilty and sentenced to death. On the following Thursday, Digby, the elder Winter, Grant, and Bates, suffered according to their sentence in St. Paul's Church-yard; and on the morning afterwards, Thomas Winter, Rookwood, Keyes, and Fawkes, shared the like fate, in Old Palace-yard.[278]

Henry, Earl of Northumberland, the Lords Mordaunt and Stourton, with *Garnet*, *Oldcorn*, and *Gerrard*, three Jesuit priests, and some others who had also been implicated in the conspiracy, were at the same time lodged in the Tower, where the Earl remained many years;[279] and the two Lords, after having been severally fined ten thousand marks and six thousand marks, were remanded to the same fortress, there to remain during his Majesty's pleasure.[280] Garnet, however, after several examinations, and a subsequent trial at Westminster, was found guilty of having concealed his knowledge of the plot, and was hung in St. Paul's Churchyard on the third of May, 1606. Father Gerrard, who immediately after his committal had been placed in a dungeon, where he was threatened with the application of torture unless he made a full confession, had his hands screwed into two iron rings, by which he was suspended to a column at such a height that his feet did not touch the ground. In this position he remained for one hour, when a block was placed under his feet, and he was kept in that excruciating attitude for five hours longer. Being again subjected to the same cruelty on the following day, he fainted from exhaustion, and was restored by pouring

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[278] Stow's Chronicle, by Howe, p. 881.

[279] Bayley's Hist. of the Tower, Vol. ii. App. p. lxxxvii.

[280] Stow's Chronicle, by Howe, p. 884.

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vinegar down his throat; after which, the torture was renewed. He was a third time brought out, but on the interference of the Lieutenant of the Tower was suffered to remain in quiet, and in about twenty days recovered the use of his limbs. He subsequently effected his escape, and reached Rome in safety. Oldcorn, after being five times racked, was brought to trial, and although no satisfactory evidence appeared against him, was found guilty, and finally executed at Worcester.[281]

In 1608, the name of *Raleigh* again occurs in a letter from Sir William Wade, to the Earl of Salisbury, of which the following passage is an extract.—"Sir Walter Ralegh sithence his being before your lordship, (whereof notice is generally taken) doth shew himself upon the wall in his garden to the view of the people, to gaze upon him, and he stareth on them. Which he doth in his cunning humour, that it might be thought his being before your lordship was rather to clear than to charge him. And so he challengeth his keeper, that your lordship gave him new liberty, for his son to go abroad, and his physician to resort to him. Which, I assure your lordship, he useth only to justify himself; and the world expected rather farther restraint, than liberty. Which made me bold, in discretion and convenience, to restrain him again, and meet with his indiscreet humour, until your lordship shall otherwise order."[282]

Whether Sir Walter was, in consequence of this letter, more strictly confined, does not appear; but we are told that in the following year, Henry, Prince of Wales

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[281] Butler's Memoirs of the English Catholics.

[282] Dr. Birch's Collections in Brit. Mus. No. 4160, cxxiii.

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declared "that no King but his father would keep such a bird in a cage;"[283] and about the same time the Queen made an ineffectual attempt to obtain his release. The particulars are thus related by Sir Anthony Weldon.—"Queen Anne, that brave princess, was in a desperate and some believed incurable disease, whereof the physicians were at the farthest end of their studies to find the cause, and at a non-plus for the cure. Sir Walter Raleigh, being by his long studies an admirable chemist, undertook and performed the cure; for which he would receive no other reward, but that her Majesty would procure that certain lords might be sent to examine Cobham, whether he had accused Sir Walter Raleigh of treason at any time, under his hand. The King, who at the Queen's request, and in justice could do no less, sends six lords to demand of Cobham, whether he had not, under his hand, accused Sir Walter Raleigh at Winchester, upon that treason he was arraigned for. Cobham did protest, 'never, nor could he; but,' said he, 'that villain Wade, (the Lieutenant of the Tower) did often solicit me, and not prevailing that way, got me by a trick, to write my name upon a piece of white paper, which I, thinking nothing, did. So that, if any charge came under my hand, it was forged by that villain Wade, by writing something above my hand without my consent or knowledge.' These six returning to the King, the rest made Salisbury their spokesman, who said, 'Sir, my lord Cobham hath made good all that ever he wrote or said.' Where it is to be noted, that this was but an equivocating trick in Salisbury. For it was true that Cobham had made good *whatever he had writ* (that being

[283] Osborn's Miscellaneous Works, Vol. ii. p. 165.

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but in truth to very nothing)—but never wrote he anything to accuse Raleigh. By which you may see the baseness of these Lords, the credulity of the King, and the ruin of Sir Walter Raleigh."[284]

Disappointed in his hopes, the unfortunate captive still remained incarcerated in this fortress, which, also, in 1611, became the prison of the equally unfortunate *Lady Arabella Stuart*, and her friend and confidant, the *Countess of Shrewsbury*. The affinity of the Lady Arabella to the throne had excited the jealous fears of the King, who, on suspicion of her having contracted a private marriage with Mr. Seymour, a grandson of the Earl of Hertford, caused her to be apprehended, together with that gentleman, in 1610. When examined by the Council, they acknowledged their union, and were consequently committed, the husband to the Tower, and his lady to the custody of Sir James Crofts. Their confinement was, however, so far from strict that they frequently corresponded, and sometimes visited each other; but it having been resolved to remove the lady to Durham, they determined to effect their escape. With this view, on the 3rd of June, 1611, the Lady Arabella, who was lying at the house of a Mr. Coniers, near Highgate, on her way to the north, stole thence in disguise at an early hour in the morning, and directed her steps to Blackwall, where she found a boat ready to convey her to Lee, near which place a French vessel took her on board. Mr. Seymour had been equally fortunate, having escaped out of the Tower in the disguise, and driving the cart, of the man who supplied him with firewood. A

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[284] See "The Court and Character of King James," 2nd ed. 12mo. 1651, p. 35.

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boat, which waited for him at Iron Gate stairs, conveyed him down to Lee; but finding his wife gone, he embarked in a collier, which for £40 landed him at Ostend. Their escape was not known at court until the following day, when despatches were sent down to the coast, and the French vessel, which had lingered at Lady Arabella's desire in hopes of meeting with her husband, was taken, and she herself was lodged in the Tower,[285] where she was shortly joined by the Countess of Shrewsbury, who had been committed for conniving at the marriage and subsequent flight. Sir Charles Cavendish, in a letter to Henry Butler, speaking of the Countess shortly after her committal, says—"I cannot blame yow to be greatly greved at this case, knowinge howe much she valeues yow for your trust and love to her; but my Lorde putteth me in good hope that hir abood ther (in the Tower) will not be longe, and that shortly she shall have the liberty of friends and sarvants to come unto hir. She is appoynted the Queene's lodgings, and hath 3 or 4 fayr roomes to walke in: God send her well out of them, as I hope in God she shall." In a subsequent correspondence, the Earl of Shrewsbury writes,—"The King hath granted six of my Lo'. servants to repayre to hir at all convenient tyme, and M^rs^ Anne to attende hir continually ther. Mr. Coniers is in Foxe's place; belyke he had not his health ther. I hope this good beginning will have a speedy good end, wich God grant."[286] The Earl's hopes were, however, long delayed, and it was not until after two years' confinement, that his Countess was restored to liberty, a boon which the ill-fated Ara-

[285] Carte's History of England, ed. 1752, Vol. iii. p. 810.

[286] Lodge's Illustrations of British History, Vol. iii. p. 392.

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bella Stuart never obtained. A sense of her undeserved oppressions, operating too severely on her high spirit, she became a lunatic, and languished in that wretched state, augmented by the horrors of a prison, until her death in September, 1615.[287] Had the conduct of this lady been marked by the same criminal extravagancies, as it was distinguished by similar misfortunes and persecutions, as that of her royal aunt, Mary of Scotland, her name and afflictions would have been alike commemorated in the pages of history.

Two years previous to Arabella's decease, the Tower had been the scene of one of the foulest murders ever perpetrated. *Sir Thomas Overbury*, the secretary and confidant of Carr, Lord Rochester, who was then in high favour with the King, having displeased his patron by dissuading him from a marriage with his mistress, the Countess of Essex, was by the royal command, but on false representations, committed to the Tower, without being allowed to speak in his own defence. No sooner was he incarcerated in one of the most secure dungeons of that fortress, than by the machinations of Rochester and his worthless paramour, he was denied all communication with the world; Sir William Wade, the Lieutenant, was removed, and Sir Gervase Elways, a creature of their own, was appointed to the office. Once in the power of his enemies, his entreaties for liberty and justice were unavailing: the injuries he had received were too great, and the knowledge he possessed was too important to allow his persecutors to release him, without endangering their own lives. Agents were therefore employed to cause his death by poison; which, accord-

[287] Carte's History of England, Vol. iii. p. 810.

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ingly, was mixed with his food; but when it was found that the drugs administered did not answer the desired purpose so speedily as the instigators of this atrocious deed desired, more certain measures were resorted to; and Sir Thomas's sufferings were at length terminated by the administering of corrosive sublimate. His corpse, disfigured by sores and ulcers, was wrapped in a sheet, and secretly interred in the Tower Chapel on the very day of his decease; and this effected, the murderers rested for some time in fancied security.[288]

In the following year, 1614, Sir Walter Chute, John Hoskins, Wentworth, and Christopher Nevil, second son of Lord Abergavenny, who had in parliament uttered sentiments adverse to the marriage of the King's son, with a princess of the Popish religion, were lodged in the Tower;[289] and shortly afterwards, the rising influence of Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, and consequent decline of Carr, then raised to the Earldom of Somerset, in the royal favour, caused the partizans of the former to make strict enquiries into the mysterious death of Sir Thomas Overbury. The first person seized was Weston, his keeper, who, after divers examinations, made a confession which led to the apprehension and committal to the Tower of Mrs. Turner, the agent of Lady Essex, Sir Gervase Elways, Sir Thomas Monson, and a person named Franklin. Somerset and the Countess were seized shortly afterwards, and imprisoned in this fortress.

On Weston's trial, it was proved that he had been placed in the Tower by Sir Thomas Monson at the request of the Countess of Somerset, and that the poisons

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[288] Cottonian MS. British Museum, Titus B. vii.

[289] Camden's Annals of James the First.

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administered by him to Overbury were supplied by the Countess, or by her agent Mrs. Turner; who, like Weston, was found guilty, and suffered the extreme penalty of the law.[290] *Sir Gervase Elways*, who was next tried, entered upon his defence with so much confidence and apparent consciousness of innocence, that it was fully expected he would have been acquitted; "but," says the writer of a letter, giving an account of the trial, "after long wast of speeche, it fared w^th^ him as the Romans observed some tyme to happen to those among them that acted *Veterem Comœdiam*, that did *in actu ultimo deficere:* for an examination of Franklin's (taken that very morning) being produced, wherein he confessed, that being at the Countesse of Essex chamber w^th^ hir and Turner, about the purchasing of divers poisons, and a l^re^ from the lieutenant being brought to hir at that instant, w^ch^ shee could not (for the badnesse of the hand) well reade, he was comanded (as better acquainted w^th^ his caracter to reade the same unto hir,) w^ch^ he did, and thereof he well remembered one chiefe passage, w^ch^ was, that '*this scab is like the fox, the more he is cursed, the more he thrives.*'" Upon this evidence he was convicted, and the only favour he could obtain was to be beheaded on Tower-hill, instead of being hanged.[291] On the morning of his execution he appeared at the appointed spot, habited "in a black suit, and a black jerkin, with hanging sleeves, having on his head a crimson satin cap, laced from the top downward, and round about, under that a white linen night cap with a border, and over that a black

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[290] Carte's Hist. of England, Vol. iv. p. 32.

[291] Cottonian MS. Brit. Mus. Titus B. vii. 477.

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hat, with a broad rybon and ruffe-band, thick couched with a lace, and a pair of skie-coloured silk stokins, and a pair of three-soaled shoes."[292] Having acknowledged the justice of his sentence, and declared that although cognizant of the murder, he had no hand in the perpetration of it, he added that he had from time to time received instructions for the usage of his prisoner from Sir Thomas Monson and Lord Northampton, of whose proceedings he had given full information to the Lord Chief Justice: he then bade farewell to the bye-standers, and with manly courage submitted to his fate.[293]

Sir Thomas Monson, the next prisoner, was indicted, on the 15th of December, 1615, as an accessory to the murder, but owing, as supposed, to some expressions that fell from the Chief Justice which affected the King, he was re-conducted to the Tower, accompanied by his brother, Sir William. From a manuscript in the possession of William Bray, esq., it appears that in January 1615, the Lieutenant of the Tower was commanded to allow the Bishop of Ely to have access to Sir Thomas to satisfy him on points of conscience; and for doctors Montford and Campian, and his wife, to visit him in the presence of the Lieutenant. In May, orders were given for a preacher to attend Sir William, and for Sir Thomas to have pens, ink, and paper. In the following month, permission was given for Sir Thomas to take the air and to converse with his friends in the presence of the Lieutenant; and in September, he was allowed to attend divine service in the church, and to sit at the Lieute-

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[292] Truth brought to Light, p. 150.

[293] "Complete History of England," Vol. ii. p. 702.

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nant's table. Both himself and his brother were shortly afterwards liberated.[294]

The trial of the Earl and Countess of Somerset was deferred until May, 1616, when the latter made a full confession of her guilt; and the Lords being of opinion, from the evidence adduced, that the Earl was at least aware of his wife's proceedings, they were both re-committed to the Tower. The Countess was speedily pardoned, but her husband was not released until after seven years' confinement.[295]

The disgrace of Somerset, and consequent elevation of Villiers, gave Sir Walter Raleigh, who still remained a prisoner in the Tower, and had shortly before published his "History of the World," written in that fortress, an opportunity of recovering his freedom, by bribing the new favorite. This was effected in March, 1616; and when Sir Walter gained his liberty, he is reported to have said, that "the whole history of the world had not the like precedent, of a king's prisoner to purchase freedom, and his bosom favorite to have the halter, except in scripture, in the case of Mordecai and Haman." To this the King is said to have replied, "Raleigh might die in that deceit!" an observation which in the sequel was fully verified.[296]

In the following year Raleigh commanded an expedition to Guiana, in search of gold mines. But that enterprise having failed to satisfy the avarice of the King, and politics having changed with respect to Spain, he was, on his return home, seized and again committed

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[294] Bayley's History of the Tower, Vol. ii. p. 558.

[295] Carte's History of England, Vol. iv. p. 34.

[296] Cayley's Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, ed. 1806, Vol. ii. p. 57.

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to the Tower; whence, on the 29th of October, 1618, he was dragged to the scaffold, on the sentence which had been passed against him fourteen years before, and since which, he had been entrusted with the direction of a fleet, and the power of life and death over the men under his command. When he felt the edge of the axe, provided for his decapitation, he exclaimed, "'Tis a sharp remedy, but a sure one for all ills." He died with perfect resignation, and unflinching fortitude.[297]

On the 30th of December, 1617, *Gervase, Lord Clifton*, was committed to the Tower for threatening the life of the Lord Keeper, and he there put a period to his existence in the following year.[298] In 1619, the Tower became the prison of the Earl and Countess of Suffolk, the former of whom had been accused of bribery and corruption in his office of Lord Treasurer, and the latter of having extorted money from those persons who had business to transact in the Treasury. They were, however, very soon released through the mediation of the Duke of Buckingham.[299] About the same time, Sir Thomas Lake, one of the Secretaries of State, with his wife and daughter, were also imprisoned in this fortress, for having aspersed the character of the Countess of Exeter. Sir Thomas, who begged pardon of the Countess, was soon released, but his lady having refused to make the like submission, was kept in confinement for a considerable length of time.[300] In 1621, the Lord Chancellor Bacon and Sir Edward Coke suffered a short imprisonment in the Tower; the former, on his well

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[297] Cayley's Life of Sir Walter Raleigh.

[298] Camden's Annals of the Reign of James the First.

[299] Carte's History of England, Vol. iv. p. 48.

[300] Ibid. p. 49.

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known fall from his political greatness, and the latter, for the part he had taken with the members of the House of Commons in support of their privileges.[301] In the same year, the *Earl of Arundel* was committed to the Tower, by his peers, for disorderly conduct during a debate, by insulting Lord Spencer. The latter nobleman, who was much devoted to agricultural pursuits, and partial to the country, made some remarks on a transaction in which the ancestors of both parties had been concerned; when Arundel, to whom the observations were from some cause objectionable, tartly replied, "My lord, when these things you speak of were doing, your ancestors were keeping sheep." True, retorted Lord Spencer, "but when my ancestors were keeping sheep, yours, my lord, were plotting treason." An angry discussion ensued, and Arundel, who had given the first provocation, having refused to apologize, was committed to the Tower, but he was shortly afterwards liberated on giving the desired satisfaction.[302]

In 1622, the Earl of Oxford, with Robert Philips, and other members of Parliament, were committed to the Tower, for the violent terms in which they had objected to the marriage of Prince Charles with the Infanta of Spain; and, two years afterwards, the Earl of Bristol was also lodged in the same prison, for matters connected with the same treaty of alliance.[303] About the same time Lionel Cranfield, Earl of Middlesex, having been found guilty of bribery and corruption in his office of Lord Treasurer, was also confined there,[304] and he ap-

[301] Camden's Annals of the Reign of James the First.

[302] Wilson's Life of King James the First.

[303] Camden's Annals, ut supra.

[304] Carte's History of England, Vol. iv. p. 116.

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pears to have been the last prisoner of distinction during King James's reign.

Under the distracted government of Charles the First's reign, the Tower was not only a prison for state delinquents, but likewise the fortress and strong hold of the contending factions, by whom it was alternately seized.

One of the King's first acts, on his accession in 1625, was to release the Earl of Middlesex. In the following year, he committed to the Tower Sir Dudley Diggs and Sir John Elliot, who had incurred his displeasure by their active zeal in the impeachment of the Duke of Buckingham;[305] but the House of Commons having strongly remonstrated against this act, they were liberated.[306] In the same year, the Earl of Arundel was imprisoned here, on account of his son's marriage with the sister of the Duke of Leinster;[307] owing, however, to the dissatisfaction expressed by the House of Lords, who were indignant at this infringement of their privileges, the King was shortly compelled to sign his discharge.[308] Notwithstanding the pertinacity with which both houses of Parliament defended their rights and liberties against the unjust exercise of the royal prerogative, they were still willing to pay due respect to the King's honour; and Mr. Moore, one of the members of the lower House, having, in 1627, used disrespectful expressions towards his Majesty, was, by command of the Speaker, committed to the Tower.[309]

In the ensuing year, that fortress became the abode of one who has gained a place in the pages of history, by a

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[305] Rushworth's Historical Collections, ed. 1659, p. 356.

[306] Ibid. p. 360. [307] Ibid. p. 363. [308] Ibid. p. 371.

[309] Whitelock's Memorials, p. 7.

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deed to which modern times afford but a single parallel; namely, *John Felton*, the murderer of the Duke of Buckingham. The particulars of the Duke's assassination are too generally known to need repetition; but the following particulars relative to Felton, from Ellis's "Original Letters," may not be deemed uninteresting. A letter dated the 13th of September, 1628, states that "Felton was on Friday night brought to the Tower by water, where multitudes of people being gathered to see him, he desired them all the way as he came to pray for him, who with a general voice cried 'Lord comfort thee,' 'the Lord be merciful unto thee,' or such like words."[310] A subsequent correspondence says,—"As Felton, the last week, passed through Kingston upon Thames, an old woman bestowed this salutation upon him: 'Now God blesse thee, little David,' quoth she; meaning he had killed Goliah. He hath hitherto been fairly used in the Tower, being put into the same lodging where Sir John Elliot lay, and allowed two dishes of meat every meal. He denies what Savage[311] said, that he had offered him eighty pounds to kill the Duke, forty pounds whereof in hand; and thought indeed that Savage will prove a man distraught of his wits."[312] By the following extract of a letter from Mr. Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville, we learn, that "On Monday, September 22, two grave and learned divines were sent to Felton by order from his Majesty, to try if by working upon his

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[310] Ellis's Original Letters, 2nd ed. Vol. iii. p. 260.

[311] A gentleman who was lodged in the Tower, for speaking words importing as though he knew of Felton's purpose before he committed the murder.

[312] Ellis's Letters, ut supra, p. 261.

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conscience, they could get out of him who were his complices and confederates. They found the man exceeding penitent for the blood he had shed, and no way arrogating to himself the good that might come of that act, but taking all the evil to himself, and ascribing the good to God Almighty. And withal he protested upon his salvation that no living creature was ever made acquainted with his intent. That he took his first resolution on Monday the 18th of August, but six days before he acted it; and that his only confederate and setter on, was the Remonstrance of the Parliament, which he verily thought, in his soul and conscience, to be a sufficient warrant for what he did upon the Duke's person. Now he makes two suites to his Majesty; the one is, that he may receive the communion before he suffer death; and the other that, until then, he may be permitted to weare sackcloth about his loins, to sprinkle ashes upon his head, and to carry a halter about his neck in testimony of repentance, for shedding the blood of a man, and that so suddenly as he had no time given him to repent. That his own blood is ready for the satisfaction of the law; and he is confident that the blood of Christ shall wash away this and all his other sins."

"Another friend told me that on Tuesday morning, some of the Lords being with him, my Lord of Dorsett told him, 'Mr. Felton, it is the King's pleasure you should be put to torture, to make you confesse your complices, and therefore prepare yourself for the rack.' To whom Felton replied, 'I do not believe my lord that it is the King's pleasure; for he is a just and a gracious Prince, and will not have his subjects to be tortured against law. I do again affirm upon my salvation, that my purpose was known to no man living; and more

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than I have said before, I cannot. But if it be his Majesties pleasure, I am ready to suffer whatsoever his Majesty will have inflicted upon me. Yet this I must tell you by the way, that if I be put upon the rack, I will accuse you, my Lord of Dorset, and none but yourself.' So they left him then without bringing him to the rack, and it is thought he shall not be racked at all. He was said to have spoken much after the same manner once before unto my Lord Conway."[313]

In the following December, Felton was conducted from the Tower to Westminster for trial, when the judge without impannelling the Jury, or examining witnesses, demanded of him, why sentence of death should not be pronounced. He answered "I am sorry both that I have shed the blood of a man who is the image of God, and taken away the life of so near a subject to the King;" and, lifting up his arm, added, 'This is the instrument, which did the fact, which I desire may be first cutt off, and the rest of my carcase I willingly yield to this Court, to be disposed of as you and his Majesty shall please." The punishment of death was therefore awarded.[314]

The day before Felton's execution he received the sacrament, and in the afternoon was visited by the Earl and Countess of Arundel, and Lord Matravers their son, to whom he was related. They brought him money to give away, and a winding sheet; the latter, however, proved useless, as, after he had been hanged at Tyburn, the body was placed in chains on a gibbet at Portsmouth, where the assassination had been committed.[315]

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[313] Ellis's Original Letters, 2nd ed. Vol. iii. p. 265.

[314] Ibid. p. 279.

[315] Ibid. p. 281, et seq.

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About the same time, the Tower cells were occupied by Sir John Elliot, Denzil Hollis, Valentine, Selden, Coryton, Hobart, and Heyman, all members of the House of Commons, who were committed for their violent speeches and conduct on the discussion of the tonnage and poundage bill. The case of the first was more aggravated than that of the other prisoners, he having declared that "the King's Privy Council, Judges, and learned council, had conspired to trample under their feet the liberties of the subjects of the realm and the liberties of the house." Hollis and Valentine had, by force, held the Speaker in the chair, after he had signified the King's pleasure for an immediate adjournment, and had compelled him again to take his seat after he had left it: the others used language highly offensive to the King and to the ministry.

In 1629, Mr. Long was committed to the Tower, for non-residence in his county during the year of his shrievalty.[316] Two years afterwards, *Mervyn, Lord Audley*, and Earl of Castlehaven, was also confined there, and, after a trial in which it was fully proved that, amongst other offences, he had assisted his servants in committing a rape upon his own Countess, he was beheaded upon the neighbouring hill.[317] In 1637, *Dr. Williams*, Bishop of Lincoln, who had ten years previously advised some officers of the Ecclesiastical Courts to be lenient in their prosecution of Puritans, 'because he had heard the King express his intention to behave with mildness to them, as having great influence in Parliament,' was prosecuted for having, being a privy counsel-

[316] Whitelock's Memorials, p. 14.

[317] Carte's History of England, Vol. iv. p. 212.

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lor, revealed the King's secrets. He was, eventually, suspended from his bishopric, fined eight thousand pounds, and imprisoned in the Tower: "where he remained above three years without once attending divine service in the chapel, or receiving the sacrament, which occasioned no little scandal."[318]

In 1639, *Lord Loudon*, one of the Commissioners sent to England by the Scotch Covenanters, was committed to the Tower, for having affixed his signature to a letter of treasonable import, addressed to the King of France;[319] and, notwithstanding the clamours of the Scotch Lords, who considered the detention of a public messenger as an infringement of the law of nations, he narrowly escaped with life. It is stated by Oldmixon, that, whilst in the Tower, the King sent a warrant for Loudon's execution to the Lieutenant, who, at his prisoner's request, sought out the Marquis of Hamilton, and with him proceeded to the Royal Palace. The King had retired to rest, but Sir William Balfour, who had been informed that, as Lieutenant of the Tower, he was privileged to knock at the King's door at any hour of the night, demanded admission. Having gained access, he fell on his knees by the King's bed-side, and begged to know whether the warrant had been legally obtained, and whether he should be justified in executing it; at the same time using arguments to his Majesty to forego his purpose. "No," said the King, "the warrant is mine, and you shall obey it." The Marquis of Hamilton then approached and besought the monarch to alter his resolution; but he continued immoveable, until the

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[318] Carte's History of England, Vol. iv. p. 324.

[319] Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, edit. 1732, p. 43.

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Marquis, taking leave, said, "Well then, if your Majesty be so determined, I'll go, and get ready to ride post for Scotland to-morrow morning; for I am sure before night the whole city will be in an uproar, and they'll come and pull your Majesty out of your Palace. I'll get as far as I can, and declare to my countrymen that I had no hand in it." This speech had the desired effect: the King recalled the Lieutenant, and destroyed the warrant.[320] Lord Loudon was shortly afterwards released.

The following year proved fatal both to that eminent statesman, *Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford*, and to that imperious prelate, *Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury*. In the month of November, Strafford was impeached at the bar of the House of Lords by Mr. Pym, and was committed to the Tower, until the charges preferred against him could be more fully inquired into. The King had, shortly before, appointed Lord Cottington, Constable of the Tower; but the Houses of Parliament, being apprehensive lest that officer should favour Strafford's escape, petitioned the King to remove him.[321] This was accordingly done, and the government of the fortress was again entrusted to Sir William Balfour. In January, 1640, the Earl was arraigned in Westminster Hall, and, during a trial which lasted seventeen days, defended himself with such energy and talent, that even one of his prosecutors freely acknowledged "never any man acted his part on such a theatre, with greater reason, constancy, judgment, and temper, and with a better

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[320] Oldmixon's History of the Stuarts, Vol. i. p. 140, et seq.

[321] Carte's History of England, Vol. iv. p. 310.

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grace in all his words and gestures, than he did."[322] But eloquence and arguments were unavailing; he was found guilty, and re-conducted to the Tower. The King for a long time refused to sign the bill of attainder; but Strafford, having written a letter, beseeching him not to endanger his crown by opposing the wishes of the people, he at length yielded his assent, of which Strafford, notwithstanding his letter, no sooner heard, than he is said to have exclaimed "Put not your trust in princes, nor in the sons of men, for in them there is no salvation."[323] The King, as a last resource, wrote to the House of Lords, requesting them to confer with the House of Commons to spare the Earl's life, but the request was refused, and on the 12th of May, 1641, this distinguished statesman and soldier fell a victim to popular discontent. Indeed, so strong was the prejudice against him, that the Lieutenant of the Tower, fearful lest he should be torn in pieces by the infuriated mob, requested him to ride to the place of execution; "No, Mr. Lieutenant," replied he, "I dare look death in the face, and, I trust, the people." At the scaffold, he, with a composed and undaunted air, told the populace "he was come there to satisfy them with his head, but that he much feared the Reformation, which was begun in blood, would not prove so fortunate to the kingdom as they expected and he desired;" and, after expressing his devotion to the Church of England, his loyalty to his sovereign, and his good wishes for the welfare of the kingdom, he calmly resigned himself to his fate.[324]

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[322] Whitelock's Memorials, p. 44.

[323] Ibid. p. 46.

[324] Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, ed. 1732, p. 85.

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Archbishop Laud, the Earl of Strafford's fellow captive, was accused of high treason on the 18th of December, 1640, and committed to the Tower amidst the revilings of the populace, who, according to his own account of his passage to that fortress, followed him "with clamour and revilings, even beyond barbarity itself; not giving over till the coach was entered at the Tower gate; but I bless God for it, my patience was not moved; I looked upon a higher cause than the tongues of Shimei and his children."[325] After Strafford's death, the Archbishop's enemies became more violent, and, in pamphlets and ballads, imputed to him the most atrocious crimes; caricatures, representing him in the most ridiculous attitudes, were publicly exposed for sale, and every method was adopted to excite popular prejudice against him. Whilst in prison, he was attacked by a tertian ague, from which he suffered for a long time;[326] but the attention of his accusers was, for a while, directed to other objects, until subsequent events decided his fate.

In consequence of the increasing differences between the King and his subjects, the custody of the Tower became an important consideration. Sir William Balfour, by having, as supposed, refused to connive at the escape of the Earl of Strafford, had incurred the royal displeasure, and, as the King wished to place the fortress ("which some men fancied to be a bridle upon the city") in the keeping of a person devoted to himself, and dared not openly express his dissatisfaction of Balfour's conduct, he gave that gentleman three thousand

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[325] Troubles and Trials of Archbishop Laud, Vol. i. p. 174.

[326] Ibid. p. 180.

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pounds as a compensation for the resignation of his office, and appointed to the Lieutenantcy *Colonel Lunsford,* "a soldier of fortune, and fit for any wicked design.[327] This appointment gave great offence to the Londoners, who, concluding from Lunsford's desperate character, that the King meditated designs against their liberties, requested the Lords to join with them in a petition to the King, to place the Tower in the custody of a more fit person. The Lords, however, declined, but, at the same time, privately intimated to the sovereign, that he should make choice of a person to whom no exception could be made.[328] His Majesty refused to accede to this advice, until he received information from the Mayor of London, that it was to be feared, "if Lunsford were not removed, the apprentices would rise and pull him out;" when he deemed it expedient to confer the office on Sir John Biron.[329]

Meanwhile, the popular clamour against the church government had risen to its greatest height, and *twelve* of the *Bishops,* who, having been intimidated from attending the Parliament, had sent a protest to the House of Lords against the force used towards them, and against all the acts which should be done in their enforced absence, were charged with high treason; and, "about eight o'clock in the evening, on the 30th of December, 1641, in a bitter frosty and snowy night, were committed to the Tower." In the ensuing February, they were admitted to bail, by the Lords; but,

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[327] Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, ed. 1732, p. 109;—and Ludlow's Memoirs, ed. 1698, Vol. i. p. 18.

[328] Clarendon, ut supra, p. 109.

[329] Short View of the late Troubles in England, ed. 1681, p. 80.

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upon the remonstrance of the members of the lower House, were re-conducted to their former prison, where they remained until their final dismissal, in May, 1642. The Bishop of Ely, however, who had been lodged in the Tower subsequently to his brother prelates, was detained upwards of eighteen years, without any accusation being brought against him, so as to warrant his trial.[330]

On the 12th of January, 1642, the Commons made an order, by which the Sheriffs of London were directed to "plant a sufficient guard by land and water about the Tower, under the command of Serjeant Major General Skippon, commander of the guards of the Parliament; to hinder the carrying in of any provisions, and the sending out of any ordnance, arms, or ammunition." Three days afterwards, they summoned Sir John Biron, the Lieutenant, (who had been commanded by the King "to reside constantly in the Tower, and not to go out of it upon any occasion whatever, without first acquainting him therewith,") to appear before them.[331] On his refusal, the House of Commons presented an address to the King, insisting upon his removal, and that the custody of the Tower should be committed to a person appointed by themselves. His Majesty replied, that "as to the Tower, he had entrusted it to one of known fortune and unblemished reputation; but that if they could bring any particular charge against him, he would not hesitate to discharge him:" he added, that as the nomination of keeper of that fortress, "was a principal and inseparable flower of his crown, vested in him,

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330 Carte's History of England, Vol. iv. p. 396.

331 Ibid. p. 411.

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and derived to him from his ancestors, by the fundamental laws of the realm, he would reserve it to himself."[332]

Eager to accomplish their object, the Commons again stated to the King, that the Merchants who usually traded to the Mint with bullion, had mistrust of Sir John Biron, and that the Mint stood still; recommending to his Majesty, as a fit person to have the custody of the Tower, Sir John Coniers, whom they wished to allure to their own party. Charles, harassed by these continued entreaties, and knowing that the Tower stores were almost exhausted, at length yielded his assent, and the desired change was made.[333]

Having thus far succeeded, the Commons voted to the King a most violent address; to which *Sir Ralph Hopton,* a member of the House, objected, saying that, "they seemed to ground an opinion of the King's apostacy, upon less evidence than would serve to hang a fellow for stealing a horse." For this offence he was committed to the Tower; where he was shortly joined by Mr. Trelawney, another member of parliament, who had asserted "that the House could not appoint a guard for themselves without the King's consent, under pain of high treason."[334] *Sir Thomas Beddingfield* and *Sir Thomas Gardiner,* the counsel appointed by the Lords to assist the Attorney General, (who had been impeached by the lower House, for bringing articles of accusation against five of their members,) were also committed to the same prison by their lordships, for having declined the office. Shortly afterwards, the *Earl*

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[332] Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, ed. 1732, p. 131.
[333] Ibid. p. 137. [334] Ibid. p. 146.

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of Bristol and *Judge Mallet* were sent to the Tower, for having been privy to a petition drawn up by the magistrates and others of the County of Kent, desiring that the militia of that county might not be otherwise exercised than as the known law permitted, and that the book of Common Prayer, as by law established, might be observed.[335] The two latter were soon liberated; but Mallet, after a short interval, was again imprisoned in the Tower, "as the fomenter and protector of a malignant faction against the Parliament." He obtained his release about two years afterwards.[336]

Sir Richard Gurney, the Lord Mayor of London, having, in 1642, caused the King's proclamation against the militia to be published in the city, was committed to the Tower, where he remained many years.[337] About the same time, Lord Montague of Boughton, the Earl of Berkshire, and three or four of the principal gentlemen of the county of Oxford, were lodged in the same fortress, for having expressed dissatisfaction at the proceedings of the parliament, and avowing attachment to the King.[338] In the following year, it was also the prison of Mr. Justice Berkeley, who was committed by the House of Lords upon charges of high treason;[339] Mr. Montague, a messenger from the Court of France to King Charles;[340] Sir William Moreton, the Governor of Sudeley Castle, who was seized by the parliamentary forces on the surrender of that fort;[341] and Daniel O'Neale, a courtier and soldier of distinguished address and courage, who, at the commencement of hostilities

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[335] Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, pp. 159. 160.
[336] Ibid. p. 230. [337] Ibid. p. 229. [338] Ibid. p. 243.
[339] Ibid. p. 360. [340] Ibid. p. 368. [341] Ibid. p. 398.

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between the King and the Parliament, had espoused the cause of the former. The latter escaped from the Tower in female attire.[343]

In this year another change was made in the governance of the fortress. The Commons had thought, that by conferring the appointment on Sir John Coniers, they thould have enlisted him under their own banners, and they requested him to command their forces. But he warily declined, and contented himself with the fees of his office, which, owing to the number of prisoners sent to the Tower during his Lieutenancy, were very great. Finding, however, that in consequence of his refusal, he was suspected by the Parliamentarians, or, perhaps, being too conscientious "to keep his Majesty's only fort which he could not apply to his service," he requested permission to retire, and the custody was conferred on the Mayor of London, who held it for the Parliament until 1647.[344]

Archbishop Laud still continued in close confinement, subject to all the privations incident to a prison. In his "Diary," he says, "an order came from the house, October 24, that no prisoner should keep above two servants, nor speak with any man, but in the presence and hearing of his warder. My case for the former branch of this order differed from all the other prisoners; for they lay in several warder's houses, in which they might be fitted by the servants of the house for ordering their diet, but I was in a prison lodging, void of all comfort and company; and therefore, upon October 27th, I humbly besought the Lords for a cook and butler, beside

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343 Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, p. 436.

344 Ibid. p. 349.

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the two which were to attend me in my prison, by reason of my age and infirmities; which, though with difficulty, yet, I humbly thank their lordships, was granted me, October 28th."[345]

In 1643, it was determined by the Lords to bring him to trial, and accordingly, William Prynne, the well-known Puritan, was appointed to search his lodgings in the Tower, for papers, in support of the offences wherewith he was charged. "Mr. Prynne," says the Archbishop, "came into the Tower, with other searchers, as soon as the gates were open. Other men went to other prisoners; he made haste to my lodging, commanded the warder to open my doors, left two musketeers centinels below, that no man might go in or out, and one at the stair head: with three other, which had their muskets ready cocked, he came into my chamber, and found me in bed, as my servants were in theirs. I presently thought upon my blessed Saviour, when Judas led in the swords and staves about him. Mr. Prynne, seeing me safe in bed, falls first to my pockets, to rifle them; and by that time my two servants came running in half ready, (half dressed) I demanded the sight of his warrant; he shewed it to me, and therein was expressed that he should search my pockets. The warrant came from the close committee, and the hands that were to it were these: E. Manchester, W. Saye and Seale, Wharton, H. Vane, Gilbert Gerard, and John Pym. Did they remember when they gave this warrant how odious it was to Parliament, and some of themselves, to have the pockets of men searched? When my pockets had been sufficiently ransacked, I rose and got my cloathes

[345] Troubles and Trial of Archbishop Laud, p. 197.

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about me, and so, half ready, with my gown upon my shoulders, he held me in the search till past nine of the clock in the morning. He took from me twenty and one bundles of papers which I had prepared for my defence; two letters which came to me from his gracious Majesty, about Chartham and my other benefices; the Scottish service book, with such directions as accompanied it; a little book, or diary, containing all the occurences of my life; and my book of private devotions; both which last were written through with my own hand. Nor could I get him to leave this last, but he must needs see what passed between God and me; a thing, I think, scarce offered to any Christian. The last place that he rifled was my trunk, which stood by my bed-side. In that he found nothing, but about forty pounds in money, for my necessary expences, which he meddled not with; and a bundle of some gloves. This bundle he was so careful to open, as that he caused each glove to be looked into: upon this I tendered him one pair of gloves; which, he refusing, I told him he might take them, and fear no bribe, for he had already done me all the mischief he could, and I asked no favor of him; so he thanked me, took the gloves, bound up my papers, left two centinels at my door, and went his way."[346]

On the 10th of March, 1643, the Archbishop was brought to trial, and charged in general terms with "high treason and other misdemeanors;" the total want of particularity in the articles of accusation, however, strongly evince the irregular nature of the proceedings. Even Serjeant Wild confessed, that "no one separate crime

[346] Troubles and Trial of Archbishop Laud, p. 205, et seq.

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of the Archbishop's did amount to treason or felony; "but," said he, "we do contend, that all his misdemeanors, put together by way of accumulation, make many grand treasons!" To which Mr. Hearne, the prisoner's counsel, replied, "I crave your mercy, good Mr. Serjeant, I never understood, before this, that two hundred couple of black rabbits make a black horse.[347]" After a trial of twenty days, but extended, by adjournments, through the space of eight months, he was, on the very day he had commenced his defence, attainted of high treason by the Commons; and, although many persons were of opinion, that nothing charged against him was treason "by any known and established law of the land," the ordinance was finally passed on the 4th of the ensuing January, and, on the 10th of the same month, he was beheaded on Tower Hill.[348]

In December, 1644, *Sir John Hotham*, and his son, *Captain Hotham*, who had been committed to the Tower in the preceding July, for a design to surrender the Town of Hull to the King, were beheaded on Tower Hill; and, in the same month, *Sir Alexander Carew* suffered a like fate, after previous confinement, for a similar offence with respect to the Town of Plymouth. It is worthy of remark, that the latter gentleman was beheaded with the very axe by which the Earl of Strafford lost his life; and, it is said, that, during the discussion of the bill for the execution of that nobleman, Carew, when requested to vote against the measure, replied, "If I were sure to be the next man that should

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[347] Bayley's History of the Tower, Vol. ii. p. 583, from Archbishop Tenison's MSS. in Lambeth Library.

[348] Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, p. 424, et. seq.

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suffer upon the same scaffold, with the same axe, I would give my consent to the passing of it."[349]

Another prisoner committed to the Tower about this time, was *Colonel Monk*, afterwards Duke of Albemarle, who was taken by General Fairfax at the siege of Nantwich; he regained his liberty, after a close imprisonment of three years, by accepting a command in Ireland under the Parliament.[350] His fellow-captives, *Lord Macguire* and *Colonel M'Mahon*, two of the principal leaders in the Irish Rebellion, hastened their death by an attempt to escape out of the Tower in September, 1644. Having sawn through the door of their cell, they lowered themselves from the walls by a rope, (which they had been directed where to find, by a note conveyed to them in a loaf of bread,) into the moat, which they swam across. Their escape having been discovered, the Lieutenant of the Tower was fined two hundred pounds for his negligence. They were, however, subsequently re-captured, and hanged at Tyburn.[351]

Among the numerous persons lodged in the Tower about this time, was *Mr. Henry Martin*, a member of Parliament, (afterwards one of the King's judges,) who had said in the house, that it was better that one family, meaning the King's, should perish, than that the people should be destroyed.[352] The Marquis of Winchester and Sir Robert Parke, taken at the siege of Basing-house,[353] and Sir John Strangwaies, made prisoner at

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349 Dugdale's Short View of the late Troubles in England, fol. 1681, p. 198.

350 Ludlow's Memoirs, ed. 1698, Vol. i. pp. 78. 171.

351 Carte's History of England, Vol. iv. p. 520.

352 Ludlow's Memoirs, ed. 1698, Vol. i. p. 80.

353 Heath's Chronicle, p. 143.

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Cardiff, were also lodged in the Tower in 1645;[354] and, two years afterwards, it became the prison of Sir John Maynard, Mr. Serjeant Glynn, the Recorder of London, Sir John Gayre, Lord Mayor of London, one of the sheriffs, three aldermen, and several other persons who were hostile to the measures adopted by the army. Judge Jenkins, the Earl of Cleveland, Sir Lewis Dives, Sir John Stowell, and many other Royalists, were also confined there about the same time.[355]

In 1648, the *Duke of Hamilton*, the *Earls of Holland* and *Norwich*, *Lord Capel*, and *Sir John Owen*, who had appeared in arms against the Parliament, with their attendants, occupied many of its cells. The first, who had entered England as commander of the Scotch forces, was taken prisoner at Uttoxeter, and lodged in Windsor Castle, whence he contrived to escape to Southwark; but whilst knocking at the door of an inn for admission, he was recognized by a passing soldier, seized, and committed to the Tower. The Earl of Norwich and Lord Capel were made prisoners at the surrender of Colchester; the latter, after his committal to the Tower, effected his escape, but whilst crossing the Thames was retaken and lodged in his former prison by a waterman.[356] The Earl of Holland was taken by the Parliamentary forces at St. Neot's; and Sir John Owen, in an engagement on the borders of Wales.

During the King's captivity in the Isle of Wight, it was proposed to him by Parliament, that the Tower should be placed under the government of the City of

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[354] Ludlow's Memoirs, ed. 1689, Vol. i. p. 159.

[355] Heath's Chronicle, p. 155.

[356] Ludlow's Memoirs, ut supra, p. 285.

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London, and that its chief officers should be appointed by Common Council. On Charles giving a reluctant assent to those terms, Colonel West was preferred to the Lieutenancy in place of Sir Thomas Fairfax, who had obtained that preferment in the preceding year.

Soon after the decapitation of the King, in January 1649, a commission was appointed for the trial of the Duke of Hamilton, the Earls of Holland and Norwich, Lord Capel, and Sir John Owen, who were all found guilty, and, excepting Lord Holland and Sir John Owen, were executed in New Palace Yard, Westminster. The last two, after a long confinement in the Tower, were pardoned.[357] These executions displeased the soldiery, and John Lilburn, a Lieutenant Colonel, and his three associates, Walwayn, Prince, and Overton, having published pamphlets strongly reprobating the measure, were committed to the Tower. Lilburn was tried and acquitted, but was afterwards banished by order of the House of Commons; the others were liberated.[358] In the same year, Abraham Reynaldson, the Mayor of London, on refusing to publish the ordinance for abolishing the title of King, was sent to the same fortress;[359] and, shortly afterwards, Mr. Penruddock, an agent of Prince Charles's,[360] was also conveyed thither.

Amongst the persons committed to the Tower, in 1650, were *Colonel Andrews*, an old loyalist, *Sir John Gell*, a Parliamentary General, and Captains Benson and Ashley, who had been implicated in a plot against the Parliament. The first was beheaded on Tower-hill,

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357 Carte's History of England, Vol. iv. p. 615.

358 Whitelock's Memorials, p. 401, and Heath's Chron. p. 255.

359 Carte, ut supra, p. 616. 360 Whitelock's Mem. p. 434.

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and Ashley was hanged at Tyburn; but the two others, after a long confinement, were released.[361] In the following year, *George Cooke, Esquire,* a member of Gray's Inn, was also confined in the Tower for a similar offence; but when summoned to attend the Council, he contrived to escape from the officers. A reward of five hundred pounds having been offered for his apprehension, he was shortly afterwards retaken and conducted to his former prison.[362] The Lords Beauchamp, Bellasis, and Chandos, who were "suspected of designing new troubles," became also, about this time, inmates of the Tower;[363] together with Edward, Lord Howard, of Escrick, (who had been convicted of bribery at his election, as the Parliamentary representative of the City of Carlisle,[364]) and Love, the celebrated presbyterian minister. The latter, though one of the most bitter enemies of the late King, had been detected in a treasonable correspondence with the Scots, and was sentenced to death; he was executed on Tower-hill.[365]

After the battle of Worcester, in 1651, a great number of distinguished persons were imprisoned here; amongst whom were the Marquis of Worcester, the Earls of Crawford, Lauderdale, Kelly, and Rothes, and the Generals Middleton and Massey. Many of these prisoners were afterwards removed to Windsor, and remained there until the Restoration; but the two Generals effected their escape. About three years afterwards, the Colonels, Sir Gilbert and John Gerard, the Earl of Oxford, Sir

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[361] Whitelock's Memorials, pp. 468. 474. 490.

[362] Heath's Chronicle, p. 284. [363] Whitelock's Memorials.

[364] Ludlow's Memoirs, ed. 1698, Vol. i. p. 336.

[365] Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, ed. 1732, p. 626.

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Richard Willis, and several others of inferior rank, who had been opposed to the Protectorate, were confined in the Tower, and, after a short interval, with two other persons, named Vowel and Fox, were brought to trial; when it was clearly proved, that they were present at a tavern where discourse had been held, "how easy a thing it would be to kill the Protector, and to seize the Tower, and that if at the same time the King were proclaimed, the City of London would personally declare for his Majesty." Fox made a confession, which saved his life by implicating the others, but Vowel was hung at Tyburn, and Gerard was beheaded on Tower-hill. With the latter suffered, Don Pantalaon Sa, a knight of Malta, who had basely slain a gentleman in the New Exchange.[366]

At the commencement of the year 1655, the increasing influence of the Cavaliers having excited the jealousy of the Protector, he caused many officers of that faction to be seized and cashiered; and *Major General Overton* was committed to the Tower.[367] Shortly afterwards, Maynard, Twisden, and Wyndham, three barristers who had incurred the Protector's displeasure, by arguing the case of a client whose goods had been seized for the non-payment of customs, contended to be illegal, were immured in the same prison;[368] and after a brief interval, Penn and Venables, the unsuccessful commanders of the disastrous expedition to the West Indies, were conducted to the same place of confinement.[369]

In July, 1656, a mandate was directed to Sir John

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[366] Clarendon's Hist of the Rebellion, ed. 1732, pp. 645, 646.
[367] Ludlow's Memoirs, ed. 1699, Vol. ii. p. 520.
[368] Ibid. p. 526. [369] Ibid. p. 496.

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Barkstead, the Lieutenant of the Tower, for the release "of one that goes by the name of *Lucy Barlow*, who for some time hath been a prisoner in the Tower of London. She passeth under the character of Charles Stuart's wife, or mistress, and hath a young son, whom she openly declareth to be his; and it is generally believed; the boy being very like him, and both the mother and child provided for by him."[370]

The most noted person committed to the Tower, in 1657, was *Miles Syndercombe*, who had previously been on terms of great intimacy with the Protector, but having received some affront, had determined to murder him. His attempts had been twice or thrice accidentally defeated; but sufficient evidence was obtained of his guilt, and he was condemned to die. From his deportment at and after his trial, it was thought that his release would be attempted, and orders were therefore given for keeping a strict guard whilst he remained in the Tower. Great preparations were also made to prevent the expected rescue; but on the morning appointed for his execution, he was found by his keepers, dead in his bed. His body was dragged at a horse's tail to the scaffold, and there buried, with a stake driven through it.[371]

The year 1658 also brought to this dreaded prison many captives, amongst whom were Colonel Russel, Sir William Compton, and Sir William Clayton, who were suspected of a design against Cromwell's life; and Mr. Henry Mordaunt, brother of the Earl of Peterborough, Mr. Stapley, Colonel Mallory, and Dr. Hewett, who had declared an intention of raising forces for the King's

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[370] Mercurius Politicus, July 10th to 17th, 1656.

[371] Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, ed. 1732, p. 696.

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assistance in Kent and Sussex. Mordaunt was acquitted, and Mallory remained imprisoned until the Restoration; but Dr. Hewett was beheaded on Tower-hill, together with Sir Henry Slingsby, a determined loyalist.[372]

Among the numerous prisoners committed to this fortress after the death of Cromwell, and prior to the Restoration, were Lady Mary Howard, daughter of the Earl of Berkshire, Mr. Ernestus Byron, Mrs. Sumner, and Mr. Harlow, who were implicated in Mordaunt's designs to excite the royalists;[373] and to these were soon afterwards added, the Earl of Chesterfield, Viscount Falconbridge, the Lords Falkland, De la Ware, Bellasis, Charles Howard, and Castleton, on the failure of the insurrection in Cheshire,[374] together with their leader, Sir George Booth, after his defeat near Northwich. The latter had disguised himself in female attire, and by riding on a pillion behind a servant had hoped to escape; but by alighting from his horse in an unfeminine manner he excited the suspicion of the landlord of a country inn, by whom he was apprehended.[375] Most of these prisoners were subsequently released.

The increasing power of the army had now rendered it highly important for the Parliamentary faction to gain possession of this fortress, and a design was therefore formed for effecting that object. Colonel Fitz, the Lieutenant, had consented that Colonel Okey, with three hundred men, should be dispersed in the vicinity, prepared for the enterprize, promising that on a certain day he would cause the gates to be opened at an early

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372 Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, ed. 1732, p. 687, et seq.

373 Heath's Chronicle, p. 424. 374 Ibid. p. 425.

375 Ludlow's Memoirs, ed. 1699, Vol. ii. p. 694.

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hour in the morning for the passage of his carriage, at which time Colonel Okey, with his men, embracing the opportunity, might seize the guards and make themselves master of the place. This plot was, however, discovered, and on the night before its intended execution, Colonel Desborough being despatched from the army with a body of forces, changed the guards, seized the Lieutenant, and placed a fresh garrison in the Tower, under the command of Colonel Miller.[376] Shortly afterwards, in a schism among the soldiery, Lenthal, the Speaker of the House of Commons, proceeded to the Tower, removed the Lieutenant who had been appointed by the Committee of Safety, and conferred the government on Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, and other members of Parliament; but when General Monk declared for the King, that officer seized the fortress in the name of his royal master, released many of the prisoners, and placed in it a garrison commanded by Major Nicholas, who held it until the Restoration.[377]

As soon as the royal party recovered their influence in the House of Commons, they retorted upon the members of the Commonwealth the severities to which they had themselves been subjected. Sir Arthur Hazelrigge and Colonel John Lambert, who had opposed General Monk's design of placing the second Charles upon the throne, were committed to the Tower in March 1660;[378] a measure which convinced the Commonwealth officers that the most active measures were necessary to secure their lives. It was, therefore, proposed by Colonel Lud-

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[376] Ludlow's Memoirs, ed. 1699, Vol. ii. p. 763.

[377] Heath's Chronicle, p. 441.

[378] Ludlow's Memoirs, ut supra, p. 852.

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low, who was one of their most zealous adherents, that a body of two thousand men, upon whose fidelity they could rely, should join Colonel Morley's regiment in the Tower; that the fortress should be furnished with provisions for six months consumption; and that an additional force of two thousand seamen should be placed there, for the purpose of securing to the Parliament, the City of London, and of co-operating with their forces as occasion should require.[379] Owing, however, to the confusion which prevailed in their councils at this period, a favourable opportunity for gaining possession of the Tower was lost, and it continued in the custody of the royal party.

Meanwhile, Colonel Lambert escaped into Warwickshire; but he was re-taken by Colonel Ingoldsby, and lodged in the Tower, together with Colonel Cobbet, Major Creed, and others, who had joined his standard.[380] On the return of Prince Charles to England, his partizans redoubled their efforts against the friends of the Commonwealth, and, in a short time, every thing was subjected to the power of the restored sovereign. In May, 1660, *Colonel Thomas Harrison*, who had been one of the late King's Judges, was closely imprisoned in the Tower, whence he was dragged on a hurdle, in the following October, to Charing Cross, and there hanged and quartered.[381] *Mr. Gregory Clement*, a merchant of London, and *Colonel John Jones*, who had also been members of the High Court of Justice, by which the late King was sentenced to die, after a previous con-

379 Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. ii. pp. 854, 855.

380 Bayley's Hist. of the Tower, Vol. ii. p. 621.

381 Heath's Chronicle, p. 466.

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finement in the same fortress, shared a similar fate.[382] The former had concealed himself in a mean house near Gray's Inn; but some persons having perceived better provisions carried there than was customary, caused a search to be made, and Clement was, consequently, seized. His captors, to whom his person was unknown, carried him before the Commissioners of the Militia, who, after a slight examination, dismissed him. It chanced, however, that a blind person coming into the room as he was quitting it, recognized his voice, and, addressing him by name, he was again secured, and conveyed to the Tower.[383]

In June, the same year, Colonel Bamfield, Francis Corker, Colonel Hunks, Colonel Phair, Captain Hewlet, and Mr. John Coke, who were all implicated in the death of Charles the First, were incarcerated in the same prison. Hewlet was supposed to have been his executioner; and Coke, as the solicitor employed by the Parliament, had preferred the impeachment against him.[384] In the following month, the Earl of Antrim and the Marquis of Argyle were committed to the Tower, the former for justifying the then recent proceedings of the Irish, and the latter for the conspicuous part he had taken in the civil war. The Laird of Swintoun was also confined here on different charges, viz. first, for a design to stab the King, whilst pretending to cure him of the evil; and afterwards, for deserting the Scots at the battle of Dunbar. Sir Henry Vane and Sir Arthur Hazelrigge, under pretence that they had endeavoured to persuade many of the officers of the army to form a party in op-

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[382] Bayley's History of the Tower, Vol. ii. p. 622.

[383] Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. iii. p. 17. [384] Bayley, ut supra.

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position to the Royalists, were at the same time seized and imprisoned, as were also Colonel Axtel and Colonel Francis Hacker, for having commanded the guard at the late King's trial,[385] and Thomas Scot, for having officiated as one of his judges. Hazelrigge died in the Tower; but Vane, Hacker, Axtel, and Scot, were executed.

At this period the Tower was filled with a constant succession of prisoners who had either been actively employed by the Commonwealth, were implicated in the death of King Charles, or had opposed the restoration of his son; and, although, owing to the great number confined there, several contrived to escape, yet many were executed for their former conduct and principles, though under circumstances which deserved a better fate. Previous to the Coronation of the restored monarch, the Tower became for a short period the royal abode, and the procession, which had been discontinued in consequence of the plague on the accession of his two immediate predecessors, was again renewed with increased splendour. In the Tower the King created five Earls, six Barons, and sixty-eight Knights of the Bath, who, with their esquires, and the officers of state, and other attendants, escorted him thence to Westminster on the 23rd of April, 1661. The noblemen and Knights of the Bath were habited in "mantels and surcoats of red taffeta, lined and edged with white sarcenet, and thereto fastened two long strings of white silk, with buttons and tassels of red silk and gold, and a pair of white gloves tied to them: a white hat and feathers." As upon preceding occasions, the streets were decorated

[385] Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. iii. p. 42.

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in the most costly manner, pageants were exhibited, triumphal arches were erected, and so magnificent were the dresses and equipages, that a contemporary writer says, "even the vaunting French confessed their pomps of the late marriage with the Infanta of Spain, at their Majesties entrance into Paris, to be inferior in state, gallantry, and riches, to this most glorious cavalcade from the Tower."[386]

One of the first acts of Charles's sovereignty was the repair of this fortress, upon which, as appears from the accounts of the board of works, he expended, between December, 1660, and May, 1667, upwards of £500.[387] Another important point was the disposal of those persons who were yet imprisoned here for political crimes, in the late civil war, and of whom the Lord Monson, Sir Henry Mildmay, and Mr. Robert Wallop, were, in 1661, degraded from their titles, sentenced to be drawn upon sledges, with halters round their necks, from the Tower to Tyburn, and back again to their prison, there to suffer perpetual confinement. Many others, about the same time, were removed from this prison, to end their days in distant fortresses, or on remote islands.[388] In the following year, *Colonels Barkstead* and *Okey*, with *Mr. Miles Corbet*, three of the late King's judges, who had escaped to Holland, were there treacherously seized by an emissary of the English government, and committed to the Tower, whence they were conveyed to execution at Tyburn on the 19th of April.[389]

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[386] Heath's Chronicle of the Civil Wars, p. 481, et seq.

[387] Harleian MS. in British Museum, No. 1656-7.

[388] Life and Reign of King Charles II., in "Complete History of England," Vol. iii. p. 232.

[389] Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. iii. p. 100. et seq.

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In the year 1666, a plot was discovered for the surprisal of the Tower, and the murder of Sir John Robinson, the Lieutenant; and, it appears, that boats and scaling ladders had been prepared for the enterprize. Eight of the conspirators, amongst whom were Colonel Rathbone and other officers, were tried and executed at Tyburn.[389] In the same year, this fortress was endangered by the great fire of London, and its safety was only ensured by the removal of the buildings which stood upon the walls, and near the moat at the main entrance.[390] Amongst the persons committed to the Tower in the same year, were Nathaniel Desborow, Major George Dewy, John Pengelly, Captain Adam Banes, and John Baptist Coureur, a Frenchman, for "treasonable or seditious practices," "dangerous designs," or "treasonable words spoken;" Beaumont Hastings, "for assaulting and abusing the Lords Morley and Monteagle;" Thomas, Lord Buller, of Moor Park, for "challenging the Duke of Buckingham;" Stephen Thompson, Esquire, for "stealing, and conveying beyond the seas, the sole daughter and heiress of Sir Edmund Alleyn, deceased, she being an infant;" and Henry, Marquis of Dorchester, for "quarrelling with and using ill language to the Duke of Buckingham, during a conference between committees of both houses of Parliament."[391]

In 1667, the only person of rank committed to the Tower was George, Duke of Buckingham, who was charged with having held secret correspondences, tend-

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[389] Heath's Chronicle of the Civil Wars, p. 550.

[390] Brayley's Londiniana, Vol. i. pp. 155. 166.

[391] Bayley's History of the Tower, Vol. ii. pp. 626, 627;—from Original Warrants of Commitment.

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ing to stir up mutiny in the army, and sedition amongst the people.[392] During the ten succeeding years, many persons were imprisoned here, although no warrants of commitment are now extant, neither is any interest attached to the names of those who became prisoners during the interval. In October, 1678, warrants were issued for the confinement of William, Lord Petre; Lord Viscount de Stafford; Lord Bellasis; Colonel Roper and his son; as also of Sir William Goring and Sir John Gage, for high treason; accompanied by an order that they and the Lord Arundel of Wardour "be kept close prisoners, separate and apart, without pen, ink, and paper. Lord Castlemaine was also committed "for high treason of the highest nature."[393] In 1679, William, Earl of Powis; William, Viscount Stafford; William, Lord Petre; Henry, Lord Arundel; John, Lord Bellasis; and Thomas, Earl of Danby, were confined in the Tower, upon various charges of high treason; and, about the same time, Sir William Andrews was incarcerated, for having been engaged in "a conspiracy against the person of his Majesty." Shortly afterwards, Sir Anthony Deane, Mr. William Pepys, Sir Thomas Gascoigne, Roger, Earl of Castlemaine, and the Countess of Powis, were sent to the same prison. Among the various mandates issued to the Lieutenant of the Tower for the treatment of his prisoners, it is ordered that each of them retrench their families to the number of six servants; and those to be Protestants; that they be prevented from corresponding with each other; and that no person be per-

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[392] Life and Reign of Charles I. in "Complete History of England," Vol. iii. p. 263.

[393] Bayley's Hist. of the Tower, Vol. ii. p. 628.

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mitted to see or converse with them without permission from the Council.[394]

By an order of Council, made in December, 1680, certain persons were appointed to survey and examine the state of the Tower, to consider more particularly the means of preventing fire, to which it was liable by reason of the great number of stables used by the officers and other persons residing within the fortress, and to make an estimate of the expense of the necessary repairs. Three months afterwards, a report was made to the Council, by which it appeared that the sum necessary for putting the fortress into a thorough state of repair, was £6697 : 2*s* : 7*d*; an order was therefore issued to the Lords of the Treasury to provide the required sum, so soon as the state of his Majesty's affairs would permit. In the same year, Sir Robert Peyton was committed to the Tower for challenging the Speaker of the House of Commons; as were also Edward Fitz-Harris, Esquire; John Rouz, Edward Whitaker, John Wilmore, William, Lord Howard, Baron of Escrick, and Anthony, Earl of Shaftesbury, for "imagining, devising, and compassing the deposing and killing the King." The Lieutenant was particularly commanded to keep the two latter, close prisoners and apart from each other, and to suffer none to have access to them but their wives and children.[395]

The only persons of rank sent to the Tower in 1683, with the exception of Thomas Pilkington and Samuel Shute, the Sheriffs of London, who were charged with having encouraged "an enormous riot" within the City,

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[394] Bayley's History of the Tower, Vol. ii. pp. 630, et seq.

[395] Ibid. Vol. ii. p. 631.

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were the Earl of Essex, and William, Lord Russel. These noblemen had been accused by Howard, whom Sir John Hawles styles, a *thorough paced evidence*, of various treasonable offences. On the very morning when Lord Russel was undergoing his trial, Essex was found dead in his bed, with his throat cut, a circumstance which excited a strong suspicion that he had been murdered; that suspicion was much increased when it became known that his Majesty and the Duke of York were at the time of his death, in the Tower, where they had not been for upwards of fifteen years before. Another suspicious feature was, that the Earl's body had been stripped, and the closet in which he met his death been washed, prior to the inquest being held; and, again, when the Jury expressed a wish to see the cloaths in which the Earl died, the Coroner, after retiring into another room, told them "it was the body and not the cloaths, they were to sit upon."

Charles the Second died in 1684, and from that period may be dated the decay of the Tower as a Royal Palace. At the coronation of his successor, the usual procession thence to Westminster was omitted, nor has it been since revived; this discontinuance may be accounted for, not only from the removal of the royal lodgings, in that and the following reign; but also by reason of the great expense attendant upon the ceremony. Still, however, it retained its character as a state-prison, and, amongst other captives immured therein during the government of the second James, was that misguided and unfortunate Prince, *James, Duke of Monmouth*, who had raised an insurrection in the west against the King. After his defeat at the disastrous battle of Sedgemore, and his subsequent discovery in a ditch at Holtbridge,

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in Dorsetshire, in July, 1685, he was conveyed to London on the 13th, and, after an interview with his uncle, the King, in which the latter displayed "neither feeling or generosity," he was committed to the Tower. The bill of attainder, which had been previously passed against him, precluded the necessity of a formal trial; and only two days' respite were allowed between the time of his committal and his execution, although he had petitioned for a longer interval. King James, in his "Memoirs," says, that during the Duke's confinement in the Tower, he "refused" to see his wife; but other authors declare, that she declined the interview, unless in the presence of witnesses. Whilst in the Tower he signed a paper renouncing his pretensions to the crown, probably in the vain hope of obtaining pardon from a King, who, on once reminding a prisoner that it was in his power to forgive, was answered, "Yes, Sire, but it is not in your nature!"

On the 15th of July, Monmouth, attended by the Bishops of Ely and Bath and Wells, who had been appointed his spiritual advisers, was conducted to the scaffold on Tower Hill, which was crowded with an innumerable concourse of spectators. After reading the declaration which he had previously signed in the Tower, and replying with spirit and moderation to the pertinacious and ill-timed reproofs and exhortations of the reverend prelates, he turned to the executioner and desired him to perform his office "better than in the case of Lord Russel," who had been recently beheaded. He then felt the axe, and expressed his opinion, that it was not sharp enough; but having been assured to the contrary, he laid his neck upon the block. The headsman, intimidated by the Duke's manner, struck a blow; but so

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feebly or unskilfully that his victim raised his head, as though to reproach him. Rendered still more nervous by his previous failure, the executioner twice repeated the stroke, and then, throwing down his axe, declared he could not complete the execution. Being, however, compelled by the sheriffs to proceed, he reiterated his attempt, and, after two more blows, Monmouth was decapitated.[396] One of his children died in the Tower, but the two others were liberated in the following year.[397]

Thomas, Earl of Stamford; Henry, Lord Delamere; and Charles Gerard, commonly called Lord Brandon, with some other persons of inferior rank, who had been implicated in Monmouth's designs, were also released.[398] In the same year, Sir Robert Cotton, John Crew Offleigh, Esq., and Sir Robert Cotton, of Cheshire, were committed to the Tower, "for dangerous and treasonable practices;" as was also Mr. John Cook, a member of Parliament, "for his indecent and undutiful speech," in reflecting on the King and the House of Commons.[399]

In June, 1688, the metropolis was strongly agitated by the memorable committal of the *seven Bishops;* a measure which originated in the refusal of those prelates to publish, throughout their respective dioceses, the King's declaration of indulgence to religious dissenters. They were conveyed to the Tower by water, and as they passed onward, the banks of the river were thronged

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[396] Fox's Hist. of the Early Part of the Reign of James II. pp. 261, et seq.

[397] Bayley's Hist. of the Tower, Vol. ii. p. 633.

[398] Complete History of England, Vol. iii. pp. 441, 442.

[399] Bayley's Hist. of the Tower, Vol. ii. p. 637.

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Trial of the Seven Bishops.

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with spectators, who implored their blessing, and petitioned heaven for their safe deliverance from the troubles with which they were afflicted in defence of their religious principles. On the 29th of June, they were brought to the bar of the King's Bench, and after a trial, perhaps the most important of any recorded in the annals of this kingdom, as not only a trial in which seven prelates contended for the rights of the English church, but in which seven peers of the realm defended the liberties of England, were declared not guilty.[400]

In September, the same year, *Sir Bevill Skelton*, who had been recalled from France for exceeding his instructions in certain political transactions, was committed to the Tower; but he was shortly afterwards released, and made governor of the fortress, a measure which created much dissatisfaction.[401] When, however, James quitted London, previously to his abdication, in December, 1688, the keys were taken from Skelton by the lords, and confided to Lord Lucas, who held possession of the Tower for the Prince of Orange. That nobleman had not many days been in his new office, before he was entrusted with the custody of the infamous *Judge Jeffries*. This subservient minion of a self-willed and despotic monarch, had concealed himself in an obscure lodging in Wapping, hoping to escape abroad; but, as he was looking from his window, was recognized by a clerk in chancery. He was, consequently, seized, and lodged in the Tower, where he is said to have put a period to his existence by excessive drinking;[402] but the true cause of his decease is doubtful.

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[400] Complete History of England, Vol. iii. p. 484.

[401] Ibid. p. 489.

[402] Ibid. p. 501.

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Among the numerous persons who, in the first year after King William's accession, were committed to the Tower, either for being reconciled to the Court of Rome, for corresponding with the banished monarch, or for actions expressive of their dislike to the new government, were James, Earl of Salisbury; James, Earl of Arran; Henry, Earl of Peterborough; William, Lord Montgomery; Charles Hales, Esquire; Sir Edward Hales; Sir Thomas Jenner; Roger, Earl of Castlemaine; Arthur, Lord Forbes; Colonel Robert Lundy; Captain Peter Shackerley; Richard, Viscount Preston; Sir Richard Cleaver; and Sir Robert Hamilton; to whom may be added, *Edward Lord Griffin*, and his lady.[403] The circumstances connected with the imprisonment of the latter nobleman are somewhat remarkable. His lordship having caused a large pewter bottle with a false bottom to be made, ordered his cook, at an unseasonable hour of the night, to get the false bottom soldered. The pewterer, to whom the bottle was entrusted, having found beneath the bottom a packet of letters, directed to King James and to other obnoxious persons, caused the cook to be seized. Meanwhile, his lordship, becoming apprehensive of danger from the delay of his messenger, made his escape, but shortly afterwards he surrendered himself.[404]

Many other captives were confined in the Tower during this reign, either for attempts against the government, or for conspiracies to restore the family of the Stuarts. Among the more prominent characters, were Francis Cholmondeley, Esquire, a member of the House of Commons, who was committed in 1790, for refusing to

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[403] Bayley's Hist. of the Tower, Vol. ii. pp. 638, 639.

[404] Complete History, &c. Vol. iii. p. 545.

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take the oaths of allegiance; and Matthew Crone, otherwise Long, Colonel John Butler, Major George Matthews, Lieutenant-Colonel Knyvet Hastings, and the Earl of Yarmouth, in the same year, "for abetting and adhering to their Majesties enemies." To these may be added, Charles Hatton, Esquire, for publishing a treasonable libel, Bernard Howard, Esquire; Lord Ross, Arthur, Earl of Torrington, Sir John Gage, and Sir Walter Vavasour, for various political offences amounting to high treason. Mr. Stafford; the Earls of Newburgh, Clancarty, and Tyrone; with Thomas, Lord Morley and Monteagle; Henry, Earl of Clarendon; George, Lord Dartmouth; Major-General Maxwell; Lord Cahire; Major-General Dorrington; and Mr. Maxwell, were also prisoners; but the specific charges under which they were committed are unascertained.[405]

In 1692, John, Earl of Marlborough, was imprisoned on a charge "of abetting and adhering to their Majesties enemies;" as were also Lord Brudenell, the Earl of Huntingdon, Sir Robert Thorold, and Colonel Langston. Charles, Lord Mohun, was also a prisoner in the same year, for having killed William Mountford, the celebrated comedian, in a quarrel on account of Mrs. Bracegirdle, an eminent actress.[406] In February, 1692, Lord Viscount Falkland and Henry Guy, Esquire, suffered a short confinement in the Tower, for having, as members of parliament, received bribes; and, at various intervals during the year, Colonel John Parker; Bartholomew Walmesley, Esquire; Sir Thomas Stanley; Caryl, Lord Viscount Mollineux; Sir Rowland Stanley; Sir Thomas

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[405] Bayley's Hist. of the Tower, Vol. ii. pp. 640, 641.

[406] Complete History, &c. Vol. iii. p. 660.

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Clifton; Sir William Gerard; Peter Leigh, and William Dicconson, Esquires, were immured in the same prison, on charges of adhering to the enemies of the government, and levying war against their Majesties.[407]

In 1696, *Charles, Earl of Monmouth,* "for having spoken disrespectfully of the King;" and Henry Buckley, Esquire; Thomas, Earl of Ailesbury; Sir Philip Constable; Arthur, Lord Forbes; and Sir John Fenwick, were imprisoned here on various charges of sedition and treason. Thomas, Lord Kerry; and Brigadier Richard Ingoldsby, were committed, in the following year, for having challenged the Lord Chancellor of Ireland; as were, likewise, John Knight and Charles Duncombe, Esquires, members of the House of Commons; the former for having falsely endorsed exchequer bills, and the latter for aiding and assisting in his illegal practices. Two years afterwards, Sir Richard Levin was lodged in this fortress, for aspersing the characters of four of the commissioners of Irish forfeitures; as were also Charles, Lord Mohun, and Edward, Earl of Warwick and Holland, on a charge of murdering Richard Coote, Esquire; but those noblemen were unanimously acquitted by their peers.[408]

With the exception of John Parkhurst and John Paschall, Esquires, two commissioners of prizes, who were committed, in 1700, for refusing to deliver in their accounts; William Colesworth and Samuel Shepherd, members of Parliament, in the same year, for bribery and corruption; several French prisoners of war, in 1703; and Robert Walpole, late secretary at war, in

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[407] Bayley's Hist. of the Tower, Vol. ii. p. 642.

[408] Ibid. p. 463.

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1712, for breach of trust on two contracts for forage for troops quartered in North Britain; few persons of note were imprisoned in the Tower in the earlier part of the eighteenth century.[409] But, in 1715, Robert, Earl of Oxford, who had been charged with advising the King of France in what way Tournay might be gained from the states-general, was, after a spirited defence, sent to that prison, although his physician declared that it would endanger his life.[410] He was shortly followed by the Earl of Powis and Sir William Wyndham, who were suspected of favouring the designs of the Pretender;[411] and soon afterwards, by the Earls of Derwentwater, Nithsdale, Carnwath, and Wintown, and the Lords Widdrington, Kenmuir, and Nairn, who had borne arms for the Stuarts. Of these noble prisoners, Derwentwater and Kenmuir were beheaded on Tower-hill; Nithsdale and Wintown escaped, and the rest were liberated.

In the ensuing year, *Kenneth Lord Duffin*, was imprisoned for high treason; as was also, in 1717, William Shippen, Esq. a member of parliament, for his "unbecoming reflexions upon the King's person and government."[412] After an interval of three years, the Earl of Coningsby was committed, for a libel upon the Lord Chancellor; and, in 1722, *Francis Atterbury*, Bishop of Rochester; the Earl of Orrery; Lords North and Grey; Thomas Cockrane and *Christopher Layer*, Esquires; George Kelly, an Irish clergyman; and Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, were conducted to the Tower, on suspicion of having been concerned in a conspiracy for seizing

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[409] Bayley's Hist. of the Tower, Vol. ii. p. 644.

[410] Smollet's History of England, 8vo. 1805, Vol. ii. p. 538.

[411] Ibid. p. 549.

[412] Bayley, ut supra.

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that fortress, and raising a rebellion in favour of the Chevalier de St. George.[413] The Bishop of Rochester was attainted and banished the realm, into which he never afterwards returned, but died in exile at Paris, in 1732.[414] Layer, after being twice reprieved, was executed, but the other prisoners subsequently obtained their release.

In 1724, Edward, Earl of Suffolk, was committed to the Tower, "for granting protections in breach of the standing orders of the House of Lords;"[415] and in the ensuing year, Thomas, Earl of Macclesfield, Lord Chancellor of England, was confined in the same prison, for venality and corruption in the discharge of his duty.[416] Upwards of twenty years now elapsed before the occurrence of any important event connected with this fortress; but after the memorable rebellion in Scotland, in 1745, it became the prison of many of those misguided noblemen and others, who had espoused the cause of the Pretender. These were, the *Earls of Kilmarnock* and Cromartie, the Marquis of Tullibardine, the *Lords Balmerino,* John M'Kensie, commonly called Lord M'Leod, or *Lovat,* William Murray, Esquire, Sir John Douglas, and *Charles Ratcliff,* a younger brother of the Earl of Derwentwater, who had been executed in 1715, after the former rebellion.[417]

Kilmarnock, Balmerino, Lovat, and Ratcliff, were the

[413] Smollett's Hist. of England, 8vo. 1805, Vol. iii. pp. 87. 90.

[414] For a particular memoir of this prelate, vide Brayley's History &c. of Westminster Abbey, Vol. i. pp. 184. 202.

[415] Bayley's Hist. of the Tower, Vol. ii. p. 645.

[416] Smollett, ut supra, pp. 108. 110.

[417] Bayley, ut supra, p. 646.

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only persons who suffered capital punishment. They were decapitated on Tower Hill, being the last who were ever executed on that scaffold, where so much noble blood had been shed. The two first were led to the block on the 18th of August, 1746, and met their fate with manly fortitude and resignation. Kilmarnock, who was a nobleman of great personal accomplishments, had been educated in revolutionary principles, and had espoused the cause of the Pretender, partly from the desperate state of his affairs, and partly from resentment to the government, for having deprived him of a pension which he had long enjoyed. He acknowledged the justice of his sentence, and after a short prayer, concluding with an invocation for the King and Royal Family, submitted his neck to the executioner. Balmerino had been bred to the profession of arms, and was resolute, brave, and sincere. He affected not penitence, for he felt none, but viewed and examined the implements of death with the utmost composure: his dying words were, "O Lord! reward my friends, forgive my enemies, and receive my soul."

Ratcliff was executed on the 8th of the following December; and, on the 18th of March, 1747, Lord Lovat, a man whose whole life is reported to have been one continued series of failings, met his death with exemplary composure and resolution. He expressed his surprise, that so "vast a concourse of people should assemble to witness the taking off of an old grey head;" and, on reading the inscription on his coffin, said, "it is right," adding, from Horace, "dulce et decorum est pro patria mori." Having examined the axe, and presented ten guineas to the executioner, he laid his neck upon the block, and, after a short prayer, gave the signal, and his head was severed from his body.

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In 1760, *Earl Ferrers* was committed to the Tower, for shooting his steward; for which crime, though imputed to insanity, he was hanged at Tyburn, on the 5th of May following. On the 30th of April, 1763, the celebrated *John Wilkes*, Esquire, member of Parliament for Middlesex, was consigned to this fortress under a warrant from the Earls of Egremont and Halifax, principal Secretaries of State, as the author and publisher of the North Briton, No. XLV., which was styled in the warrant, "a most infamous and seditious libel." No person was allowed access to him until the 3rd of May, when the legality of his committal was solemnly argued before the Court of Common Pleas, under a writ of *Habeas Corpus*. Three days afterwards, the opinion of the Court was pronounced by the Lord Chief Justice Pratt, who decided, that the misdemeanor charged against him "was not an offence sufficient to destroy the privilege of a member of parliament." He was, therefore, immediately discharged.

Two other political imprisonments, originating in the then aversion of the House of Commons to the publication of its debates, occurred in 1771. On the 25th of March, in that year, *Mr. Alderman Oliver*, and on the 27th of the same month, *Sir Brass Crosby*, the Lord Mayor, both members of Parliament, were committed to the Tower for holding a messenger to bail, who, under the Speaker's warrant, but unsupported by any civic authority, had apprehended the printer of the London Evening Post, and been afterwards charged by him with assault and false imprisonment. Whilst before the House, they firmly justified their conduct by avouching the City privileges; but, notwithstanding this defence, they were kept immured until the 23rd of July, when,

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by the prorogation of Parliament, they obtained their release, which was attended by the strongest demonstrations of popular triumph.

In June 1780, *Lord George Gordon* was lodged in this fortress, as the presumed instigator of the Riots in London, at that period; but, in February, 1781, after a trial of twenty-one hours' continuance, he was declared not guilty. Whilst his lordship was confined here, the *Earl of Pomfret* was also committed for challenging the Duke of Grafton.

In 1781, *Henry Francis de la Motte*, the French Spy, was confined in the Tower for high treason, until his execution at Tyburn, on the 23rd of July, After hanging for fifty-seven minutes, his head was cut off, and his breast being opened, his heart was taken out and consigned to the flames.

In 1794, *John Horne Tooke, John Thelwall, Thomas Hardy*, and several others, were imprisoned in the Tower, on charges of high treason. Although, on the trial of the persons above named, every possible endeavour was made by the ministry to procure their conviction, they were all declared, by their respective juries, *not guilty*.

After an interval of four years, *Arthur O'Connor, John Alley, John Binns*, and *James O'Coigly*, were imprisoned here for maintaining a traitorous correspondence with the French Directory; and, shortly afterwards, Lord Thanet was also incarcerated, and fined one thousand pounds, for striking a blow in court at Maidstone Assizes, when O'Connor and the others were tried.

In April, 1810, the Tower became the prison of *Sir Francis Burdett*, Bart. for an alleged libel on the House of Commons, in a letter to his constituents, the electors

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of Westminster; but he was liberated in consequence of the prorogation of Parliament, on the 21st of June following. Vast multitudes of people, who considered his imprisonment an act of positive injustice and arbitrary power, attended him in processions both on his committal and release.

In March, 1820, *Arthur Thistlewood, James Ings, John Harrison, William Davidson, James Wilson, John T. Brunt, Richard Tidd,* and *John Monument,* were committed for a conspiracy to assassinate the members of the Government, whilst at a cabinet dinner at Lord Harrowby's, in Grosvenor Square. In the following month they were tried under a Special Commission; and, on the 1st of May, Thistlewood, Ings, Davidson, Brunt, and Tidd, were executed in front of Newgate: the others were transported for life.

Thus close the *annals* of the Tower, as a *royal palace,* and as a *state prison;* and it cannot escape the attention of the reader, that they unfold a most lamentable display of the tyranny and folly of governors, of the caprice and weakness of persons in office, and of the ruthless and turbulent state of society at different periods of the English history. Restricted by the limits of the present work, we have been compelled to be brief in our statements, merely glancing at, or shortly noticing, many events, which successively occupied a large share of public attention, and which both to the individual, his party, and the nation, were of commanding importance. Many of the personal cases were of deep pathos and interest, and afford materials for extensive narration and disquisition.

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CHAPTER II.

THE JURISDICTION, LIBERTIES, PRIVILEGES, AND GOVERNMENT OF THE TOWER.

THE ground immediately occupied by the Tower and its surrounding fortifications, together with an open space, adjoining, known by the appellation of Tower Hill, is of the ancient demesne of the crown, and forms part of a district termed *the Tower Liberty*, to which are attached a jurisdiction and privileges distinct from, and entirely independent of, those of the City of London. It was, for a long succession of years, disputed whether the Tower was comprised within the City limits; and it appears that as early as the reign of Edward the Second, the Civic authorities considered themselves aggrieved by the raising of a mud wall between the Tower ditch and the City outworks, and accordingly pulled it down; but they were compelled to re-construct it, and were also fined one thousand marks for their offence.[1] In the time of Edward the Fourth, the dispute was again renewed, the officers of the Tower having erected a scaffold on Tower Hill "in derogation of the City Liberties;" but the rights of the Citizens having been by this time better ascertained, or the

[1] Vide antea, p. 15.

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power of the Sovereign being less despotic, the privilege claimed by the municipal authorities was recognized by the royal writ.[2]

The boundaries of the Liberty of the Tower, as presented by a Leet Jury in 1535; and again, according to "a true and exact draught thereof," as surveyed in 1597, by William Haiward and J. Gascoyne,[3] extended from the Water-gate next the "Ram's Head" in Petty Wales in a direct line north to the end of Tower Street, and thence "to the mud wall called Pike's Garden, on this side the Croutched Fryers, and so straight east to the wall of London, with y^e^ nine gardens above the Postern, and the Broken Tower, right unto the midst of Hog Lane, and so straight broad south to the stone corner, and so on to the Thames."

After the death of Sir Thomas Overbury,[4] the Citizens claimed the privilege of trying his murderers, on the plea that the portion of the Tower in which he died was within the ancient boundary of the City; a survey was therefore made, and the jury then declared upon oath, that his death took place in a chamber situated on the west side of the old City wall;[5] it was, consequently, adjudged that the part of the fortress lying west of the said wall, was in the Tower Ward, within the Parish of All-Saints, Barking, and that the remainder of the building and fortifications were within the County of Middlesex.[6] Notwithstanding this deci-

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[2] Stow's Survey of London, ed. 1626, p. 238.

[3] Published by the Society of Antiquaries in the first Volume of the "Vetusta Monumenta."

[4] Vide antea, p. 141.

[5] Notwithstanding the verdict of the Jury, this statement is questionable.—See a subsequent account of the Record Tower.

[6] Maitland's History of London, ed. 1756, Vol. i. p. 147.

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sion, the contest as to the respective jurisdictions of the Tower and of the City, was renewed at various intervals, and, in the twenty-ninth of Charles the Second, "his Ma^ties Lete Jury, for his Royall Tower of London and the Liberty thereof," made a presentment, in which the "bounds, franchises, and Liberties of the said Tower" were fully defined. According to the statement of the Jury, the Liberty began in the west and south side of the fortress, at the Water-gate, commonly called Pike's Corner, and proceeded thence in a direct line by Petty-Wales to the corner of the east end of Tower Street; thence in a northern direction to a brick wall on the south side of Crutched Friars, and so to the north side of the house of one Thomas Goodsall, and by some newly erected warehouses in the occupation of one Ralph Mortimer, to the City wall, (being the furthest bounds of the City Liberty northwards.) From the last point it extended southwards to the Postern Gate, "and from without the Posterne-gate, northwards, close under the Posterne wall, to the place where the broaken tower was on the street side, turning up towards the Minories, by the smith's forge, into a taverne there, lately a victualling house, called the Starre, right against the said broken tower, and from thence southward, all along by Tower Ditch unto the Thames side, six foot east from the staires at the east gate of Tower wharfe, towards St. Katherine's.[7]"

Even this explicit statement of the Tower franchise was insufficient to prevent the occurrence of misunderstandings on the subject; and, in consequence, in the second year of the reign of James the Second, the then

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[7] Bayley's History of the Tower, Vol. ii. App. p. cxxv.

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Attorney General was commanded to prepare for the royal signature, a bill "for confirming, constituting, and appointing, the places and limits, to be, and to be called, the *Liberty of the Tower* of London, and for dividing and separating the same from the power and jurisdiction of the City of London and of the County of Middlesex." Letters Patent, which have since been twice exemplified under the Seal of the Court of Exchequer, were consequently passed, and in them, "the Liberties of the Tower of London" are stated to consist in "the circumference without the Tower, presented to be so time out of mind by the Court Leet for the Liberty of the said Tower, and annually gone upon by the inhabitants on processioning days;—the King's Tower Ground, called the Little Minories;—the King's Tower Ground, called the Old Artillery Ground;—and the King's Tower Ground, called Well-Close." The respective abuttings and boundaries of these parcels were at the same time set forth;[8] but the question as to right of jurisdiction has, notwithstanding, been several times agitated upon different and more recent occasions.

Not only were the Liberties of the Tower disputed by the Civic Authorities, but also its privileges; nor was it until the third year of James the Second's reign, that the latter were determined to consist in the return and execution of royal writs within the Tower Liberty;—the right of holding a quarter sessions and of having a court-house and prison distinct from those of the City of London;[9]—the power of committing felons to New-

[8] Bayley's History of the Tower, Vol. ii. App. p. cxiii. et seq.

[9] The sessions were discontinued in the same reign, on account of the danger arising from the admission of a large concourse of people into the fortress.

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gate;—and of holding a Court of Record for the recovery of debts to any amount, the steward of which was to officiate as Coroner within the Liberty.[10]

The chief government of the Tower is vested in a CONSTABLE, an office coeval with the erection of the fortress itself, and usually conferred on a person of rank and military skill. This officer, according to the Records quoted by Mr. Bayley, was, in the reign of Henry the Third, termed indiscriminately, the "*Constable of London*," the "*Constable of the Sea*," and the "*Constable of the Honor of the Tower*." It also appears from the same authentic sources, that he was endowed not only with the custody of the fortress, but with other rights and privileges of a peculiar nature: such as restraining merchants and others from quitting the Port of London; permitting others, having the royal licence, to export prohibited commodities; the taking of security that owners of vessels should not traffic with the countries of the King's enemies; the prevention of forestalling; the restraining of ships of the Cinque Ports from conveying grain out of the Realm, &c.[11]

From an account of John de Crumbwell, the Constable of the Tower between the first and fourteenth years of the reign of King Edward the Second, it appears that this officer was then accustomed to receive, in addition to his salary, the rents and profits arising from certain tenements within the precincts of the Tower belonging to the Crown;—for herbage growing on Tower Hill;—and from persons who dried skins in East Smithfield,

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[10] See Letters Patent, in Bayley's History of the Tower, Vol. ii. App. pp. cxiv. et seq.

[11] Bayley, ut supra, p. 654.

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within the Tower Liberty. By an ancient custom, he was also entitled to six shillings and eight pence yearly, for boats belonging to inhabitants of London, called "stalebotes," fishing in the River Thames between the Tower and the sea, for fish called "sprots;" and for the boat of every stranger fishing there, eight shillings. From every ship carrying herrings from Yarmouth to London, twelve pence: the like sum from every foreign merchant bringing herrings; and from each person going and returning by the Thames on a pilgrimage to Saint James' Shrine, a custom of two pence.[12]

A manuscript in the British Museum states, that in the fourth year of King Richard the Second, the Constable received a yearly salary of one hundred pounds: —of every Duke committed to the Tower, twenty pounds:—of every Earl "for the sute of his yrons," twenty marks:—of every Baron "for the sute of his yrons," ten pounds:—of every Knight "for the sute of his yrons," one hundred shillings, and weekly allowance for the diet of himself and of his prisoners. He received also "for ev'y galley, two roundletts of wyne, and of all mannere of dainties, a great quantitie:"—of every ship that cometh wth wynes, two bottells either conteyning a gallon, one before, th' other after the maste." If a ship, or other vessel above six tons burthen was forsaken by her crew, and was seized by the Constable's officers between London Bridge and the Abbot of Tower Hill's Mill, the owners of the vessel compounded for her with the Constable; and if a lighter, or other boat, was, by stress of weather, compelled to throw her lading overboard, that belonged to the Constable; as did half the

[12] Bayley's History of the Tower, Vol. ii. p. 655.

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goods brought on shore without the customs having been paid; and all swans coming through London Bridge. The owners of all swans "eyring" beneath the bridge paid him a fyne, and a cygnet out of every nest. "All blodshed, outreys, affrayes, strayes, weyvyd goods," and all other profits accruing at the two law days holden within the Tower, were appropriated to the Constable's use: together with the yearly fines paid for carts and drays coming "before Galighmaies Tower into Saint Katharine's wthout y^{e} bredze of the said place,"[13]

Nor were these the only profits accruing to the Constable of the Tower: for, in a patent of the sixth year of the last mentioned King, it is stated, that out of every boat coming to the City with rushes, as much as a man could hold between his arms was to be laid for the Constable upon Tower Wharf; out of every boat load of oysters, muscles, and cockles, he was to receive one maund; and out of every ship laden with Bourdeaux, or other wines, two gallons. Every ship or other vessel deserted by her crew, and floating between London Bridge and Gravesend, was to be applied to his use; as were also, all swans coming under London Bridge towards the sea, or from the sea towards the Bridge. All horses, oxen, cows, pigs, and sheep, falling from the bridge into the river, and all animals swimming through the bridge towards the Tower, were to become his property, if seized by his officers; for every foot of such animals grazing in the Tower foss he was to receive one penny; and every cart, empty or laden, falling into the same, was to become forfeit to him.[14]

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[13] Lansdowne MS. Brit. Mus. No. 155, fol. 54.

[14] Maitland's Hist. of London, ed. 1756, Vol. i. p. 143.

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Philip and Mary, with the intention of diminishing the expenses of the civil list, made a regulation that the Constable should receive yearly, for himself, one hundred pounds, and the like sum for the diet of poor prisoners, who had not wherewith to pay for the same. From every Duke, Marquis, Earl, Viscount, Baron, or younger son of a Duke or Marquis, or Knight of the Garter, Knight, or Gentleman committed to the Tower, he was to have, "for the suit of his irons," the respective sums of twenty pounds, sixteen pounds, twenty marks, ten pounds, and five pounds, with allowance for provision and attendance according to the rank of the prisoner.[15]

During the early part of Elizabeth's reign, no Constable of the Tower was appointed, and the duties of his office were performed by a Lieutenant; when, however, in the same reign, the Constabulary was conferred on Lord Howard of Walden, his yearly salary, in addition to his perquisites, was £100.[16]

The present salary of the Constable is £1000 *per annum;* besides perquisites, which are considerable.

CONSTABLES OF THE TOWER.

The following chronological list is chiefly derived from Mr. Bayley's History, compared with, and augmented from the last edition of Collins's Peerage, by Brydges, and from other respectable authorities. The figures within the marks of parenthesis refer to subsequent paragraphs.

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[15] Maitland's History of London, Vol. i. p. 174.

[16] Peck's Desiderata Curiosa, Vol. i. p. 68.

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1066 *Geoffry de Mandeville.* (1)
William de Mandeville.
1140 *Geoffry de Mandeville.* (2)
1153 Richard de Lucy.
Garnerius de Issenei.
1189 *William Longchamp*, Bp. of Ely. (3)
1192 Archbishop of Rouen.
1194 Roger Fitz Renfred.
1205 Roger de la Dune.
1213 *Geoffry de Mandeville.* (4)
1214 Eustace de Greinville.
1215 Langton, Archb. Cant.
1217 Walter de Verdun.
1220 Stephen de Segrave.
1223 Hugh de Wyndlesore.
1224 Pandulph, Bp. Norwich.
1224 John de Boville.
1225 Thomas de Blunville.
1226 Henry Fitz Aucher.
1229 Ralph de Gatel.
1232 *Hubert de Burgh*, Earl of Kent. (5)
1233 W. de St. Edmund.
1234 Geoffry de Crancumb.
1235 Hugh Giffard.
1241 { W. Archb. of York. / Bertram de Crioyl.
1243 Peter de Vallibus.
1244 *John de Plessetis.* (6)
1245 Peter le Blund.
1255 Aymon Thorimbergh.
1256 Imbert Pugeys.
1260 Richard de Culworth.
1260 Richard de Tilbury.
1261 *Hugh le Bigod.* (7)
1261 John Mansel.
1262 Hugh le Despenser.
1264 Roger de Leyburn.
1264 Hugh Fitz Otho.
1265 { John Walerand. / John de la Lind.
1266 Alan la Zouch.
1267 Thomas de Ippegrave.
1267 Stephen de Eddeville.
1268 Hugh Fitz Otho.
1272 Walter, Archb. of York.
1273 John de Burgh.
1273 Philip Basset.
1274 Anthony Bek.
1283 Ranulph de Dacre.
1286 Ralph de Sandwich.
1289 Ralph de Berners.
1289 Ralph de Sandwich.
1307 John de Crumbwell.
1320 Guy Frere.
1321 Roger de Swynnerton.
1322 *Stephen de Segrave.* (8)
1323 *Stapleton, Bp. of Exeter.* (9)
1323 John de Weston.
1326 Thomas Wake.
1326 { John de Gisores. / Richard de Betoigne.
1327 Maurice de Berkeley.
1327 William la Zouche.
1329 John de Crumbwell.
1335 William de Montacute.
1335 *Nicholas de la Beche.* (10)
1341 Robert de Dalton.
1346 John Darcy, the father.
1347 John Darcy, the son.
1355 Bartholomew de Burghersh.
1355 Robert de Morley.
1360 John de Beauchamp.
1361 Richard de la Vache.

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1365 Alan de Burchull.
1381 Sir Thomas Murrieux.
1391 Edward, Earl of Rutland.
1397 Ralph de Nevill.
1397 Edward, D. of Albemarle.
1397 *Sir Thomas de Rempston.* (11)
1407 Edward, Duke of York.
1413 Robert de Morley.
1413 John Dabrichcourt.
1415 William Bourchier, Knt.
1420 Roger Aston, Knt.
1446 John, Duke of Exeter.
1446 James Fienes, Lord Say.
1461 J. Lord Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester.
1473 John, Lord Dudley.
1473 Richard, Lord Dacre.
1478 John, Lord Howard. Marquis of Dorset.
1483 *Sir Tho: Brackenbury.* (12)
1485 Earl of Oxford.
1509 Sir Thomas Lovel.
1524 Sir William Kingston, Kt.
1540 Sir John Gage.
1553 Lord Clinton.
1554 Sir John Gage.
1556 Sir Edmund Bray, Knt.
Tp. Eliz. } Ld. Howard of Wal-
Jac. I. } den.
1640 Lord Cottington.
1647 Sir Thomas Fairfax.
1660 Sir John Robinson.
1678 James, E. of Northampton.
1680 Lord Allington.
1684 George, Lord Dartmouth.
1688 Lord Lucas.
1702 Montague, E. of Abingdon.
Algernon, Earl of Essex.
1712 George, Earl of Northampton.
1717 Charles, Earl of Carlisle.
1722 Henry, Earl of Lincoln.
1725 Charles, Duke of Bolton.
1726 Henry, Lord Viscount Lonsdale.
Richard, Earl Rivers.
John, Earl of Leicester.
1740 Charles, Lord Cornwallis.
1762 Lord Berkeley.
1770 Charles, Earl Cornwallis.
1783 Lord G. H. Lennox.
1785 Charles, Lord Cornwallis.
1806 Francis, Earl of Moira.
1828 Arthur, Duke of Wellington.

1. The office of Governor, or Constable, is said to have been conferred on *Geoffry de Mandeville,* by William the Conqueror, in reward for his services at the Battle of Hastings.[17]

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[17] Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. i. p. 201.—Between the first and second Geoffries, Stow specifies the names of Othowerus, Acolioillus, and Otto.

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2. On *Mandeville's* surrender of the Tower, in 1143, as previously stated in page 6, he supported himself and his followers by rapine and plunder; and, after robbing Ramsey Abbey, of the consecrated vessels and other valuable articles, he besieged the royal castle at Burwell; where, having taken off his helmet on account of the heat, his brain was pierced by an arrow. Having been excommunicated by the Pope for his sacrilegeous deeds, his followers were afraid of conferring on him the rites of burial. Some Knights Templars, however, having clothed the body in the habit of their order, removed it to the Old Temple, in London, and placed it in a leaden coffin, which was suspended from a tree in their garden. His remains were afterwards privately interred in the *porch before the west door,* or circular part of the New Temple Church.[18]

3. *Bishop Longchamp,* after the resignation of his office, (see p. 7,) retired to the Priory of Bermondsey, and proceeded thence to Dover, with the intention of escaping into a foreign country; but, although disguised in female attire, he was recognized, and committed to prison.[19]

4. *Geoffry de Mandeville* was killed at a tournament holden in London, and was interred in the Priory of the Holy Trinity near that City.[20]

5. *De Burgh* had, on many occasions, successfully defended the liberties of his country, both against foreign enemies and against the encroachments of the sovereign. He had occupied many important stations, and fulfilled

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[18] Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. i. p. 203.

[19] Roger Hoveden, in "Scriptores post Bedam."

[20] Matthew Paris, sub anno 1216.

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the trust reposed in him with credit to himself, and with advantage to the realm; but having been undermined in the royal favour by his insidious foe, the Bishop of Winchester, he was deprived of his offices, and sought refuge from the malice of his enemies in the Priory of Merton, in Surrey. A Knight, with three hundred followers, was despatched by the King to conduct him thence to the Tower, and, obeying the mandate of his imperious master, dragged him from the altar where he had taken sanctuary, and having tied his legs under the belly of a wretched horse upon which he had been mounted, lodged him in his appointed prison-house. The King, threatened with excommunication for this violation of sanctuary, caused De Burgh to be sent back to Merton, but at the same time issued special injunctions, forbidding any one either to sell or give him sustenance. After a short interval, he was permitted to receive one halfpenny loaf, and a cup of ale, daily; but the sheriff was strictly commanded to allow no one to converse with him, and also to deprive him of his Psalter. At length, however, every person was restrained from conveying food to him, and he was compelled to submit himself to the royal mercy. Unwilling to proceed to extremities against a man who had been so serviceable to his country, the King soon afterwards imprisoned him in the Castle of Devizes, whence he effected his escape; but, having been re-taken, directions were given "that he should be safely kept in the vault in which he was before placed; that his keepers should have upon him three pair of iron fetters, and that no one should be allowed to speak to him." He was subsequently released, and, after joining the Welsh Barons in an attempt to redress the wrongs of their country,

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was included in a general amnesty. He died in 1243, and was buried in the Church of the Friars Preachers, London.[21]

6. *Plessey* had originally been a domestic servant in the Court of Henry the Third, and was in such favour with his royal master, that, on the death of John Mareschal, his widow, the sister and sole heir of Thomas, Earl of Warwick, was deprived of her inheritance until she consented to wed this fortunate retainer. In right of his wife he became seized of the Castle of Warwick, and, subsequently, assumed the title of Earl of Warwick. In 1251, (having some years previously resigned the Constabulary,) he was constituted "one of the Justices Itinerant, to sit at the Tower of London, for hearing and determining such pleas as concerned the City of London." He died in 1262-3.[22]

7. *Bigod*, Earl of Norfolk, and Mareschal of England, was a nobleman of such power and wealth, that, on several occasions, he refused to obey the royal commands, and set the King at defiance. Once, in particular, the King requested him to head some forces on a foreign expedition: the Earl declined the honour, by virtue of his office, as did also the Lord Constable. His Majesty, exasperated at their refusal, turning to Bigod, said,—"Fore God, Sir Earl, you shall either go or hang!" "Fore God, Sir King," replied the uncourteous noble, "I will neither go nor hang." The same monarch once termed him a traitor, when he not only

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[21] See Matthew Paris, sub anno 1232;—also the Records referred to in Bayley's Hist. of the Tower, Vol. ii. p. 279, et seq.; and Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. ii. p. 699.

[22] Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. ii. p. 772.

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denied the accusation, but defied his Majesty to injure him: "Yes," replied Henry, "I can thresh your corn and sell it!" "Ay!" retorted the Earl, "but if you do so, I will send you the heads of your threshers."

8. This *Segrave* was removed from his office for conniving at the escape of Roger de Mortimer.[23]

9. During the confusions which preceded the death of King Edward the Second, *Bishop Stapleton* became an object of popular hatred, and on the 14th of October, 1326, the infuriated mob, after plundering his residence, met him on horseback, near the north door of Saint Paul's Church, London. They dragged him thence to Cheapside, where, after proclaiming him "an open traitor, a seducer of the King, and the destroyer of their liberties," they cut off his head, and affixed it to a pole on London Bridge.[24]

10. *De la Beche* was dismissed from his office, and imprisoned in the Tower, for neglect of his duty.[25]

11. *De Rempston* was drowned in passing under London Bridge, when returning from Court in his barge, which was overturned by the force of the stream, at London Bridge.[26]

12. *Brakenbury* was Constable of the Tower at the time of the reputed murder of the youthful Edward the Fifth, and his brother, the Duke of York.[27]

The LIEUTENANT is the officer next in rank to the Governor, and was formerly appointed by him, but he is now preferred to the office by letters patent. In

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[23] Vide antea, p. 17.

[24] Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol ii. p. 581.—See also Britton's "*History of the Cathedral of Exeter.*"

[25] Vide antea, p. 19.

[26] Holinshed's Chron. Vol. iii. p. 44.

[27] Vide antea, pp. 43.

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the reign of Richard the Second, his fee was twenty pounds by the year; in addition to which, he was entitled to various perquisites, but most of them are now lost. From every person committed to the Tower, having property to the amount of one hundred marks yearly, he received "for the sute of his yrons," forty shillings, and so in proportion, with a weekly allowance for his prisoners' diet. From every galley coming up the river, he had "a roundlett of wyne, and of daynties a certain quantitie." From every freeman of the Tower, made during his Lieutenancy, six and eight pence; of every arrest made within the franchise, the like sum; and from the brethren of Saint Katharine's Hospital, when, according to his duty, he should, "on St. Katherin's night, take with him the porter, and the freemen belonging to the Tower, and the inhabitants there, and should goe out of the Tower into St. Katherin's worshipfully, and there offer before the image of St. Katherin," six and eight pence also.[28]

In Elizabeth's reign, the Lieutenant received a fixed salary of two hundred pounds yearly;[29] but in the last century it was increased to seven hundred pounds; besides valuable perquisites.

Although the Tower is officially and nominally under the controul and government of the Constable and Lieutenant, the ostensible duties of their respective offices

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[28] Bayley's History of the Tower, Vol. ii. App. xcviii.

[29] Peck's Desiderata Curiosa, Vol. i. p. 68. — Among the changes of modern times, is the entire demolition of the Collegiate Buildings, Church, &c. of St. Katharine's, near the Tower, for the purpose of making Commercial Docks, which now bear the name of St. Katharine.

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are executed by the *Deputy-Lieutenant*, and the *Major*, in whom the command of the fortress is now more immediately vested.

The *Gentleman-Porter*, formerly called the *Chief-Porter*, is appointed by letters patent at the recommendation of the Constable, and had, in former times, although his office is now a sinecure, several important duties to perform, and received many perquisites and privileges, which are now obsolete. From the terms of his oath, it appears that his chief duties were the custody of the gates and superintendence of the warders on duty;[30] and for this he received yearly, in the reign of Edward the Third, an allowance of fees and a robe.[31] In the time of Richard the Second, he was allowed, by the year, nine pounds two shillings and six-pence; the uppermost garment of every person committed to the Tower; three and four-pence for attending the Lieutenant on St. Katharine's eve; from every Earl, Baron, or Knight, created Knight of the Bath in the Tower, a reward, according to his rank; the profit on all the grass growing without the outer ditch of the Tower; and four-pence for every beast passing over the wharf without licence. From every person made free of the Tower he received twelve-pence; on every arrest he was allowed four-pence, and a like sum per day for going into the City with a prisoner. Out of every penalty he was paid twelve-pence, and the same for the return of every pannel between party and party. In addition to these emoluments, every prisoner, on his release, gave him seven and four-pence; and all boats under the burthen

[30] Bayley's History of the Tower, Vol. ii. App. cxxviii.

[31] Ibid. p. 667.

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of six tons, wrecked, or deserted by their crews, within the Tower franchise, were appropriated to his use.[32] The duties of this office are now performed by the *Yeoman-Porter*.

The *Gentleman-Goaler* is entrusted with the custody and locking up of state prisoners, and his duty was, formerly, "to carry the axe of the Tower before them, when taken to trial, with its edge inverted, prior to their conviction, and reversed, if found guilty."[33] In early times, this officer was paid by the Lieutenant, and received, "for every arrest four-pence, for every suiting of a pair of fetters" sixteen-pence, and an additional fee on the discharge of every prisoner.[34]

The *Yeomen-Warders*, of whom there are now forty, were, originally, persons employed by the Lieutenant to keep watch over the prisoners, and to perform other necessary duties; but, in the reign of Edward the Sixth, the Duke of Somerset, in return for the attention and respect which they paid to him, whilst in confinement, caused them, after his liberation, to be appointed extraordinary yeomen of the guard, and they have ever since worn the livery of that body.[35] Their duties are now almost nominal, and their time is chiefly occupied in performing the self-created office of guides, or escorts, to strangers who visit the fortress.

In addition to the officers already mentioned, there are attached to the establishment of the Tower, a chap-

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[32] Lansdowne MS. British Museum, No. 115, fol. 54.

[33] Bayley's History of the Tower, Vol. ii. p. 668, from MS. penes Constab. Turr.

[34] Lansdowne MS. ut supra.

[35] Bayley, ut supra.

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lain,[36] appointed by the King, a physician, a surgeon, and an apothecary, all recommended by the Constable; the two first holding their offices by patent, and the last by warrant. The respective duties of the Keepers of the Records, the Jewels, &c., will be noticed in subsequent pages, when treating of those parts of the Tower, where their offices are situated.

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[36] See the Account of St. Peter's Chapel, in a subsequent part of this volume.

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CHAPTER III.

SITUATION AND EXTENT OF THE TOWER. — GENERAL PARTICULARS OF THE ADDITIONS, ALTERATIONS, AND REPAIRS WHICH HAVE BEEN MADE IN THAT FORTRESS, FROM THE TIME OF ITS FOUNDATION. — PRELIMINARY AND LOCAL NOTICES OF ITS FORTIFICATIONS, AS EXHIBITED IN THE GROUND PLAN.

THIS Fortress is situated on the northern banks of the River Thames, at the south-eastern extremity of the City of London, and immediately beyond the line of its ancient walls, of which some remains are yet standing in the vicinity of Tower Hill. The site, though not of any considerable elevation, was yet judiciously chosen, both for defending the maritime approach to the capital, by its command of the river, and for overawing the turbulent spirit of the populace, by its contiguity to their abodes.

To those persons who are unacquainted with its history, or who visit it for the first time, the extent and strength of the Tower become subjects of admiration and surprise. When fully garrisoned, it has the appearance of an extensive and populous town, there being various streets and ranges of buildings within it, independently of its numerous towers, and of the barracks for the soldiers. The fortifications, which are sur-

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rounded by a broad and deep ditch, or moat, supplied with water from the River Thames, consist of a citadel, or keep, now called the *White Tower*, and a double line of walls and bulwarks, constituting the inner and outer wards. Within the walls is comprised a superficies of twelve acres and five roods. The exterior circumference of the ditch measures 330 yards, independently of its sloping banks; and on the side of Tower Hill, its width is from thirty to forty-two yards: on the side next the river, from which it is separated by a spacious raised wharf, or platform, mounted with cannon, its width is from forty to fifty yards.

The principal entrance is through an inclosure called the *Spur*, at the south-west angle of the fortress, leading to a stone-bridge, crossing the ditch, and defended by a round-tower at each extremity. In former times, the outworks, at this point, were more considerable, and, being inclosed by a small moat, they constituted a barbican, —"the post of an advanced guard, and where a porter was stationed to keep watch and ward, to announce, in form, all state arrivals at the gates of the fortress, and to detain strangers till their business was made known to the governor, and orders received for their admission."[37] On the south side, the wharf is connected with the fortress by two temporary bridges, one of which is a draw-bridge. There is also, running under the wharf, a cut, or channel, uniting the ditch with the river, which is secured by a strong tower and water-gate,

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[37] Bayley's History of the Tower, Vol. i. p. 106.—The above ceremonies, which are now scarcely remembered, were in some measure observed here at so recent a period as the reign of James the First.—Ibid.

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Gateway of the Bloody Tower.

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called the *Traitor's Gate,* from the circumstance of state prisoners having been formerly conveyed into the Tower through that avenue.

The entrances thus noticed, extend only to the outer ward, or ballium; most of the buildings within which, on the west, north, and east sides, were formerly appropriated to the English and Irish Mints, but the business of these was removed some years ago, into the new and handsome edifice called the *Mint,* on the north-eastern side of Tower Hill. The inner ward, which includes all the principal edifices in this fortress, is entered by a noble gateway on the south, absurdly termed the *Bloody Tower,* directly opposite to the Traitor's Gate. This ballium was inclosed by a high stone wall, embattled, the greatest part of which is yet standing; and strengthened by thirteen small towers, so situated as to command every part of the outward rampart, and still remaining conspicuous and bold, but variously altered from their original state.

Before proceeding, however, with the description of this fortress, we shall here revert to its ancient history, and notice more particularly the additions, alterations, and repairs which have been made within its walls at different periods.

Nothing decisive, as stated in our first Chapter, can be ascertained of the condition or history of the Tower during the Roman and Saxon times, and even admitting that this spot had been strongly fortified in those remote ages, there are no remains whatever left to direct us to a knowledge of the nature and extent of the works then raised. The first authentic notice of a fortress here is that which Stow has quoted from the "Textus Roffensis," and referred to "about the year 1078:" it is in these

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words, and most unquestionably alludes to the present citadel, or White Tower.—"Gundulphus Episcopus, mandato Willielmi Regis magni præfuit Operi magnæ Turris Londōn. Quo tempore hospitatus est apud quendam Edmerum, Burgensem Londōn. Qui dedit unum Were Ecclesiæ Roffen."[38] From the same author we learn, that this Tower, which "had been by tempest of winde sore shaken," was repaired by William Rufus and Henry the First; "they also caused a castell to be builded under the said Tower, namely, on the south side, toward the Thames, and also incastellated the same round about."[39]

About the middle of the twelfth century, some considerable additions, as before stated, were made by Geoffry de Mandeville, the second Constable of the Tower, of that name, who then retained it for the Empress Maud. Early in Richard *Cœur de Lion's* reign, the Regent Longchamp, Bishop of Ely, strengthened the outworks, and inclosed the whole by a deep moat, or ditch. The entry on the great Pipe Roll, quoted by Madox, most probably refers to those works: it states, that in the second year of Richard I., William Puintell, Sub-Constable of the Tower, accounted for £1216: 13*s*: 4*d*, which he had received from the treasury "ad operationes Turris Londoniæ."[40] Stow says, that Longchamp, in thus extending the fortifications, greatly encroached upon the adjoining lands, and had part of the City wall "broken down for the enlarging of the Tower, to wit, from the Posterne Gate towards the river Thames."[41] It was

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[38] Stow's Survey of London, p. 73, edit. 1618. [39] Ibid. p. 74.

[40] Vide Madox's History of the Exchequer, Vol. i. p. 387.

[41] Stow's London, p. 25, edit. 1598. "By the making of this

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this proceeding, combined with his many other acts of arbitrary power, that exasperated the Londoners against him, and gave rise to that union, which, at a great Council of nobility, prelates, and citizens, convened in St. Paul's Church-yard, deposed him from his authority as Regent, and, after a short seige, obliged him to surrender the Tower to Prince John.

After the accession of King John, that monarch both repaired and added to the buildings of the Tower, but subsequently, on the general defection of his subjects, in 1215, he was obliged to consign it to the custody of the Barons and the Archbishop of Canterbury. In the following year, during the attempt made by the King to regain a despotic domination, this fortress was delivered up to Prince Lewis of France, who, in the unpatriotic

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inclosure and ditch in East Smithfield," continues our author, "the Church of the H. Trinity, in London, lost half a mark rent by the yeere, and the mill was removed that belonged to the poore brethren of the Hospitall of St. Katherine, and to the Church of the Holy Trinity aforesayd, which was no small losse and discommoditie to either part. And the garden, which the king had hyred of the brethren, for sixe marks the yeere; for the most part was wasted and marred by the ditch. Recompense was often promised, but never performed untill King Edward comming after, gave the brethren five markes and a halfe, for that part which the ditch had devoured: and the other part thereof, without, he yeelded to them againe, which they hold; and of the said rente of five markes and a halfe, they have a deed, by virtue whereof they are well payd to this day.—It is to be also noted, and cannot be denied, but that the said inclosure and ditch took the like, or greater quantitie of ground from the City within the wall, namely, on that part called the Tower Hill, besides breaking down of the City wal, from the Whit Tower to the first gate of the Citie, called the Posterne."—Ibid. p. 75, edit. 1618.

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effervescence of party spirit, had been invited into England to take possession of the crown. Better feelings, however, were soon predominant, and very quickly after the decease of King John, in 1217, the united efforts of the nobility and people induced Prince Lewis to relinquish all the fortresses which had been entrusted to him, and to quit the kingdom for ever.

The additions made to the Tower by Henry the Third, and the singular accidents which retarded the completion of his works here, have been recorded in the preceding pages,[42] yet the following general account of what was effected in his reign, may not prove uninteresting. For several years after King Henry ascended the throne, "he was almost constantly employed in repairing the injuries which this fortress had sustained during the late troubles, and in increasing and strengthening its fortifications. Indeed, to him the Tower owed much of the splendour and importance which it possessed in early ages; and to his time may be ascribed the erection of some of the most interesting of the buildings that are now extant. The records of that era, which abound with curious entries, evincing Henry's

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[42] Vide Chapter I. pp. 7, 9.—The disasters which befel the noble portal and bulwark which Henry had twice erected on the west side of the Tower, and which, either from earthquakes, or the sinking of the ground, were twice "unrecoverably quite throwne downe," on the "night of St. George," in the years 1240 and 1241, were, according to Matthew Paris, ascribed by the citizens to the interference of their great guardian, St. Thomas à Becket; who, they pretended, had taken a nocturnal trip from his tomb at Canterbury, and in the plenitude of his zeal for their preservation and safety, effected the destruction of the new works by the touch of his archiepiscopal staff!

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great and constant zeal for the promotion of the fine arts, contain many interesting orders which he gave for works of that kind, to be executed in different parts of the Tower. The royal chapels there, as well as the great hall and the King's chamber of state, are subjects of frequent and curious mention."[43]

The fortifications which Henry the Third had commenced on the west side of the Tower, were completed by King Edward the First, who, in his second year, as appears from a document quoted by Stow, commanded the treasurer and chamberlain of the Exchequer, to deliver out of his treasury unto *Miles* of Antwerp, 200 marks "of the fines taken of divers merchants, or usurers of London, for so be the words of the record, towards the worke of the ditch, then new made about the said bulwarke, now called the *Lion Tower*."[44] The works either completed or erected by this monarch, are considered by Mr. Bayley, to have been the last of any importance that were ever made to this fortress.

In the Appendix to the History of the Tower, written by the above gentleman, there is a very curious return, copied from the original in the Record Office, to a Commission for inquiring into the state of the Tower, in the ninth year of King Edward the Third. From that document, which is in Latin, the following particulars are derived.—It first gives the names of the jurors before whom the examination was taken, then the names and trades of the workmen examined, and afterwards states

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[43] Bayley's History of the Tower, Vol. i. p. 12.

[44] Stow's London, p. 76, edit. 1618.—Mr. Bayley has quoted several entries on the Liberate and Close Rolls, as referring to the works either commenced or completed in the above reign.

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the defects, with the estimated sums necessary for repairing them. Thus:—

	£.	s.	d.
"Repairing and making good, with masonry, the dilapidations in the walls, battlements, and steps of the High Tower, *(altæ turris)*	40	0	0
Repairing and making good, with carpenters' work, the turrets of the high tower, of two other towers, &c.	30	0	0
Plumbers' work for the gutters, &c. of the high tower	30	0	0
Masons' work, in repairing the walls and gutters of the hall, chambers, and stables, belonging to the Constable	6	13	4
Carpenters' work for ditto	26	13	4
Plumbers' work for ditto	10	0	0
Iron work for ditto	2	0	0
Masons' work, in repairing, &c. the walls, pylers, steps, &c. of the King's hall and chapel, the Queen's kitchen, bakehouse, chamber, and chapel, and the chimneys, *(caminorum,)* near the inner gate ..	16	13	4
Carpenters' work for the King's hall, the kitchen, bakehouse, old chapel, &c.	50	0	0
Iron work for ditto	2	0	0
Ditto, for the Queen's room and chapel	73	6	8
Plumbers' work for the above	8	13	4
Iron work for ditto	4	0	0
Masons' work, in repairing the walls on the right hand of the inner gate	5	0	0
Ditto, in repairing, &c. one of the walls, near the White Tower, *(Blaunche-tour,)* and the waiter's chamber, *(camera le wayte)*	6	13	4
Plumbers' work in making good the tower of "*Le Wayte*"	5	0	0
Mason's work, repairing, &c. a wall near the Round Tower, *(turrim rotundam,)* and the gate towards the Hospital of St. Katherine, near the King's chamber, on the left side of the outer ward ..	6	13	4

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	£.	s.	d.
Ditto, in repairing, &c. the defects of six "*obstupantium*," (——— :) over against the wardrobe in the outer ward, and of the steps and ways upon the wall	40	0	0
Ditto, in repairing, &c. a wall over the Thames, within the outer gate, and also a wall to the left of the "*Blaunche-tour*"	50	0	0
Carpenters' work, in repairing three of the stables ..	100	0	0
Ditto, in making good four of the bridges	50	0	0
Ditto, in repairing one of the thatched houses, (*domus cassatæ,*) in the money ward	30	0	0
Plumbers' work, in repairing *Corande's Tower* ..	13	6	8
Ditto, the *Chapel*	40	0	0
Ditto, the *Money Tower*	5	0	0
Ditto, two turrets of the outer gate	13	6	8
Bricklayers' work, in repairing three stables, below the inner ward	100	0	0
Ditto, thoroughly repairing the *Money house* ..	13	6	8
Glaziers' work, in the *Tower Chapel*, and in the hall, chamber, and chapel of the King and Queen ..	30	0	0

The above form the principal items in the record, but it states, also, that the entire estimate of expense for repairing the dilapidations amounts to £820 : 3s. 4d.; yet, on adding together the totals, as cast up under the different trades, it will be found to amount to £920 : 3s. 4d., a very large sum, when compared with the value of money in our own times.

The record concludes by stating, that "of the dilapidations mentioned, those to the estimated expense of £500, happened whilst John de Crumbwell was Constable of the Tower;—that no evidence was given to prove during whose governorship, or at what time, the other dilapidations occurred;—that the jurors say, that two Towers, of which one is over the ancient gate, and the

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other is called *La Plummerye*, (neither of which have ever been thoroughly completed,) require repairs, to the estimated expense of £710:—and that one of the quays, over against the Thames, being twenty-eight perches in length, extending from the little postern to *Pety-wales*, must necessarily undergoe repairs, and requires for its preservation a stone wall, the estimated expense of which is £180: 13s. 4d." Of the particular works that were executed in consequence of this inquiry, we are not informed, but from the high spirit and magnificence of the then sovereign, there can be little doubt but that the recommendations of the Commissioners were duly attended to.

In the following year, 1337, "various orders were given, as well for repairing and strengthening the fortress, as for its safe custody." In one of these, in particular, the King directs that, "on account of certain news which had lately come to his ears, and which sat heavy at his heart, the gates, walls, and bulwarks should be kept with all diligence, lest they should be surprised by the cunning of his enemies." He also commanded that, for its defence, all his officers, and other men within the Tower, should be provided with arms, according to their respective conditions; and, moreover, gave orders that the gates of the fortress should be closed from the setting until the rising of the sun; that the officers and others therein should be sworn well and faithfully to preserve the same; and that none should go out, either by day or night, without special permission. Among the mandates issued, was one directed to the Sheriffs of London, requiring them to pay forty pounds, out of the farm of the City, "to be spent about the great Tower of the Tower of London," which is stated to be "in great

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need of repair." The Sheriff of Kent was likewise commanded to bring all the oak timber from Havering, to be used in the houses, and other buildings of the fortress, upon the same occasion.[45]

The slight additions made about the Lion Tower by King Edward the Fourth, have been already noticed.[46] Stow says, "Richard the Third repaired and builded in this Tower somewhat;"[47] which is corroborated by Strype.

Very considerable reparations were made in this fortress during the twenty-third and twenty-fourth years of Henry the Eighth's reign. In the former year a *Survey*, "in order to a general repair of its different buildings," was taken, and is now preserved in the Chapter-house, at Westminster. It is particularly minute in its specification of the necessary masons' work, and in every instance directs that the repairs shall be made with Cane [Caen] stone. An example or two, of the manner in which this Survey is drawn up, may not be uninteresting:—

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[45] Bayley's Hist. of the Tower, Vol. i. pp. 27, 28, and 116; from Rot. Claus. 10 Edw. III. m. 8, 12, 14, 15, and 26 dors. in Turr. Lond.—In a document of the 4th year of Richard II. quoted in the Appendix to the second volume of the same work, it is stated that, "The franchise of the Tower strecheth from the water side unto the end of Pety Wales, to the end of Tower Streete, and so straight unto a mud wall, and from thence straight east unto the wall of the cittie; and from thence to the posterne, south; and from thence straight to a great elme, before the Abbot of Tower-hill's rents, and from thence to another elme standing upon Tower ditch, and from that elme by a mud wall straight forth into Thamys."

[46] Vide Chapter I. p. 39.

[47] Survey of London, p. 77, edit. 1618.

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" *The Constabull's Tower*, the walls of the same rounde aboute to be copyde, ventyde, lowpyde, and crestyde, w^t the twoo turretts of the same, and the vices new repayrede w^t Cane stone by the masons, also rough casted, and moreov^r two new rofes of tymber to be made upon the sayd turretts, and bourds for the same by the carpent^rs.

Cane stone iiij^xx. tons, xx^li ; tymber iiii loods, xxvj^s viij^s ; bourdes iiij^c. xiij^s iiij^d ; lyme x^c l^s ; sande xxx loode, xv^s.

The tower at the east ende of the warderobe, [viz. *Broad-Arrow Tower*,] the walls of the same w^t the twoo turretts to be ventyde, lowpyd, copyd, and crestyd, and the vices p^te mendyd w^t Cane stone, and the same tower roughcast.

Cane stone xl. tons, x^li. ; lyme, x^c. l^s. sande, xxx. loods, xv^s.

The wall from the foresayd tow^r unto *Julyus Cæsar Tow^r*, at the este ende of the kynge's gallery, conteyning in lengthe cxxxv foote, the whiche wall p^rte of y^t to be copyd and crestyd w^t Cane stone, and also rough caste.

Cane stone vj. tons, xxx^s ; lyme to the same viij^c. xl^s ; sande to the same, xxiiij loods, xij^s." [48]

It is deserving of remark, that the Tower here denominated *Julius Cæsar's Tower*, (a name which later writers have frequently assigned to the White Tower,) is, in the ground plans of this fortress, made in the reigns of Queen Elizabeth and Charles the Second, called the *Salt Tower*, by which appellation it is still distinguished.

The total sum at which the repairs were estimated in Henry's Survey, was £3,593 : 4s. 1d. ; independently of a new gallery for the Queen, a new hall and kitchen, and other work of minor consequence.

With the document thus examined, there is also preserved an "Abstracte of certayne reparacions done within the *Kyng's Tow^r of London*," between the 4th of

[48] Bayley's Hist. of the Tower, Vol. i. App. (p. xi ;) in which the Survey is copied at length.

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June, 1532, and the 7th of September in the following year. From that abstract, perhaps, a more particular account of the royal apartments within this fortress might be deduced, than can be gathered from any other source; but, as scarcely a vestige of this regality now remains, we shall confine our extract to a few passages relating to different towers.

"Item. fynnysshed and made twoo greate pyllers of Cane stone under *Seynt Thomas Tower*; as also serten harde stone sett round about the arche, and the fowndacion of the walles above the *fludde gate* under the Tower.

More, half the *White Tower*, and more ys new embatelled, copyde, vented, and cressyde w^t^ Cane stone, to the amount of v. foote.

More, taken downe the olde tymber upon the iiij turrets upon the *White Tower*, the old tymber of *Robyn the Devyll's Tower*, the tymber of *Julius Seaser's Tower*, and the tymber of the Tower at th' ende of the king's wardrobe, the whiche iij towers fynnisshed vj. weks paste, and th' other iiij turrets to be fynnysshed w^t^in viij. daye.

Itim, a flower [floor] made and redy framed for the rownde Tower on the *White Tower*, whiche is not yet sett up.

Bryckelayers' worke.—Firste, the hythenyng of the iiij types [tips, or pinnacles] on the *White Tower* w^t^ brycke worke, every type a yarde hye.

It'm, more, the batilmentys to the *White Tower* w^t^ brycke, for the masons to coppe upon, and more, the rowghcastyng of those types, and the same tower.

It'm, in the *Rownde Tower*, where the Kyng's lodgyngs is, in the counseill chamber there, j new flowar raysed, j yarde hye w^t^ brycke and ragge stone, and rough castyng of the same tower w^t^ morter rownde aboute on the oute syde and w^t^in."[49]

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[49] Bayley's History of the Tower, Vol. i. App. pp. xvi. et seq. into which the entire Survey has been copied.

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The only work executed here in Edward the Sixth's reign, appears to have been the re-building of a bulwark, which Stow records to have been destroyed by the following accident:—"In the yeere 1548, the 2d of Edward the VI. on the 22. of November, in the night, a Frenchman lodged in the round bulwarke, betwixt the west gate and the Posterne, or Draw-Bridge, called the Warder's Gate, by setting fire on a barrell of gunpowder, blew up the said bulwarke, burnt himselfe, and no mo persons."[50]

It does not appear that any particular alterations or repairs were effected at the Tower in Queen Elizabeth's reign, but there is extant "a true and exact Draught" of the Tower and its Liberties, which was made under the direction of Sir John Peyton, Knt., in 1597. In that plan, the "Queen's lodgings, Gallery, and Privy Garden" are all distinctly shewn, as occupying a considerable space on the south-west side of the inner ward.[51]

Proceeding to the reign of James the First, we learn (Harleian MSS. No. 1326, Page 93,) that at a Privy Council, assembled at White-Hall, on the 4th of December, 1623, it was "ordered that Sir Richard Moryson, Knt., Lieut. of the Ordnance, Sir John Ogle, Knt., and Sir John Kaynes, Knt., Surveyors of the Ordnance, together with Sir Allen Apsley, Lieut. of the Tower, be appointed to Survey the Tower of London," and that the copy of a report made July the 4th, 1620,

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[50] Stow's Survey of London, p. 78, edit. 1618.

[51] An Engraving of the above *Draught* first appeared in the Vetusta Monumenta, Vol. i.; since which it has been twice brought before the public in reduced copies, viz, in Bayley's Hist. of the Tower, Vol. i.; and in Brayley's Londiniana, Vol. i.

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be given unto them, that they may state what has been done since, and what still remains to be done."

In the Report of 1620, it is stated that the Tower, which had anciently been fortified not only within the walls, ditches, and wharf, but care also taken in the Minories, for the lodging of the principal officers, &c. had, through the evil example and toleration of some Lieutenants, been much encroached upon, whereby the limits of the Tower, and of those other habitations and storehouses appointed for the public use, were perverted to private profit, "the splendour and magnificence of the said royal castle being, by that means, defaced, and the place itself, as it were, besieged in the wharf, ditches, and liberties thereof." Upon complaint made, and view taken, &c. it was, therefore, ordered, that a lease, which, had been granted to William Hamond, of the Artillery Yard, near the Minories, for two hundred and twenty-three years, be void, and that the same yard be restored to the public use. Divers leases of other houses in the Minories, belonging to the Ordnance Office, and also of houses belonging to the Armoury, and of parts of the Tower wharf, Tower ditch, portcullis and postern gates, were also declared void, and the same respectively commanded to be restored to their ancient uses. It was further ordered, that all buildings upon the Tower ditch be forthwith pulled down by such persons as had erected them; that all damage done to the wharf, and to the battlements and loop holes of the Tower, be repaired at the charge of those who had caused the injury; and that the magazine and store of powder, "which lyeth very near the office of the Records, and Jewells of the Crown, be removed to some other place."

In the Survey "made by Sir Allen Apsley," dated

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31st of December, 1623, the "*needfullest Reparations*" wanted, are stated to consist of four parts, viz.

"1. To cleanse the mote, and proportion the counterscarp with the Bulwark and the Gates coming in to their former uses.

"2. To amend the wall about the fort, below in the moat, and also on the top.

"3. To make clean passage upon the same wall for the rounders (query? Warders) to go about without any stop or stay.

"4. To place the ordnance for defence towards the said side, in places most convenient."

In the "Reason of the Particulars," as it is singularly styled, which constitutes the chief part of this Survey, the encroachments made upon the moat, wharf, entrance bulwark, and other parts of the fortress, are minutely specified, and detailed estimates are given of the expense of the repairs and alterations which were then deemed to be necessary.

On the side of Tower Hill and East Smithfield, "we find," say the Commissioners, "that the moat is much overgrown and filled up with earth for *gardens*, and that round the counterscarp, and within the moat also, there are placed many *houses*, sheds, timber-yards, coal-yards, wheelers-yards, &c." In some parts, the moat had been contracted in breadth from upwards of ten rods, downward, to between three and four rods; and the "forced earth," thrown in, had raised it from seven to fifteen feet. On the wharf and bulwark sides, numerous encroachments had been made, as well by the erection of houses, walls, and sheds, as by the stopping up of loopholes, battlements, avenues, and water-courses; and

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several of the towers are likewise stated to be in a state of much dilapidation.

In the same manuscript which contains the Reports we have just noticed, is the following curious document on the appropriation of the different towers, about the year 1641.

"A *Particular* of the Names of the *Towers* and *Prison Lodgings* in his Majesty's *Tower of London*, taken out of a paper of Mr. William Franklyns, sometyme Yeoman-Warder, dat. 16th March, 1641, as followeth, viz.

White Tower.—The White Tower, or Cæsar's Tower, belonging to the Office of the Ordnance.

Martin Tower.—Martin Tower, without the Byward Gate, belonging to the porter of the Mynt.

Ro. Tower.—The Byward, or Round Tower, over the Byward Gate, al ward^rs^ lodgings.

Watergate Tower.—Watergate Tower, over the Watergate, warders lodgings, formerly belonging to the King's fletcher.

Cradle Tower.—A prison lodginge in the low gardens, where the drawbridge was in former tymes.

Well Tower.—A prison lodging in the corner of the low gardens, next towards Iron Gate, and the *Tower Gate*, leading to Iron Gate, a warder's lodging.

Iron-Gate Tower.—An old ruynous place, towards St. Katherins.

Salt Tower.—At the end of the long gallery, a prison lodgeing.

Broad-Arrow Tower.—Upon the wall by the King's garden, a prison lodging.

Constable Tower.—Betwixt Capt^n^ Coningsby and Mr. Marsh, a prison lodging.

Martin Tower.—Over against the green mount, near Mr. Sherburn's house, a prison lodging.

Brick Tower.—By the Armory; the M^r^ of the Ord'nce lodging.

Two *London Towers.*—Behinde the Ord'nce office.

Office of the *Ord'nce Tower.*—By the Chapell.

Beachamp Tower, or *Cobham Tower.*—Betwixt the chapel and the L^t^ [Lieutenant's] lodging, a prison lodgeing.

Bell Tower.—Adjoyning to the L^t^ house, a prison lodgeing.

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Wakefeld Tower, or *Bluddy Tower*—Against the Watergate, a prison lodgeing.

Artillery Tower, or *Recorde Tower*.—Adjoyning to the Bluddy Tower.

Nunn's Bower.—The prisons over Coleharbur Gate.

Lanthorne Tower.—Parte of the King's lodgings, under w^ch^ is a prisoner's lodgeing, w^th^ a doore next to the lowe gardens."

In the Harleian MSS. Nos. 1656, 1657, and 1658, are numerous entries of small sums, which were expended on this fortress between the years 1660 and 1667; but, as the repairs executed were of little importance, the details are unnecessary.

Very considerable reparations were effected in the Tower, towards the latter part of Charles the Second's reign, in consequence of two Reports made by certain Peers, in 1679 and 1681, who had been appointed by his Majesty in Council, (at Whitehall,) to inspect and examine into the condition of the fortress, and state "what repairs and other works are most necessary to be forthwith done, in and about the said Tower of London, for the safety and convenience thereof and the garrison therein."

The second Report was read before the Council, on the 8th of February, 1681–2, and the minute states that "His Majesty, taking the same into consideration, was pleased to approve thereof, and did order that it be, and it is hereby referred to the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, to take care to provide money as soon as the state of his Majesty's affairs will permit, for carrying on the said reparations, and other services mentioned in the said Report:"—the order for preparing which had been signed on the 27th of the preceding January.

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This Report was accompanied by a very curious drawing, which included a Ground Plan, or, more accurately, a Bird's Eye View, of the entire fortress, (from which the subjoined Print has been copied,) and three other views of the north, east, and north-east sides of the Tower; all which have been engraved for the Society of Antiquaries, and published in the fourth volume of the "*Vetusta Monumenta.*" But the Society do not appear to have been acquainted with the Report itself; of which the principal articles are now given, for the purpose, both of illustrating the Ground Plan, and of shewing the nature and strength of the defences judged necessary by the officers of the crown, (and which they recommended to be "forthwith done,") in the unquiet times when the Survey was drawn up.

	£.	*s.*	*d.*
1st.—That there be built and made a pair of strong door Gates, with a wicket, at the coming in of the Bulwark gate, near the Lions, with a triangle pallisade for the Gate; also a Centinel Box above the said gate, with a ladder, estimated at	98	15	9
2nd.—Between Martin's Tower and the Byward Gate, at the coming into the Tower, requires a Drawbridge to be made, with a pair of Gates and Wicket; also a Stone Wall on both sides of the Draw Bridge, 12 foot long on each side, from the bottom of Tower Ditch to the height of the Passage, and for taking down the Brick Wall on one side of the Passage into the Tower, from the Byward Gate to Martin's Tower, so low as the said brick wall is on the other side, and coped on the top with a brick, on an edge, in mortar	195	10	0
3rd.—For making a Platform upon the first line of the Ramparts, to be 18 foot broad, for the reverse of the Guns, being 104 feet long, upon strong joists and 3-inch planks, the roof of the new Melting House to remain, but 12 feet in depth to be taken			

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	£.	s.	d.
off the said upper House for the planting of 10 Guns, mounted upon new fashioned Ship-Carriages, to have the command of the Gate	267	13	0
4th.—For taking off the uppermost of the Coping Stones from the top of the Parapet round the lines of the Mint from the Byward Gate to the Brass Mount, and from thence near the Devil's Tower, to Cope the said Parapet with stock bricks, on an edge in mortar, and to make up all the Port-holes for Musquetteers, and a foot bank against this Parapet, one foot and a half high, and 3 foot broad, of brick, and to cope the breadth of the foot bank with stock bricks, on an edge in mortar	295	12	4
5th.—The Tower, upon the line over against Deverin (Develin) Tower, to be made for two Tier of Guns, containing in all 11 Guns, to which end it will be requisite to build a Stone Wall on the inside, of 2½ feet thick, and the first Story to be 10 feet high, upon this to be laid a floor of Oaken joists and fir deal boards, and to lay lead upon the said floor; above this floor raise another 8 feet higher, and there to lay the timber of the Upper Platform with a stone breastwork of 4½ feet high, coped on the top with Stock bricks, on an edge in mortar; likewise to take down 2 little houses on both ends of this new Platform, there being no place for the reverse of the Guns, the all of which will amount to, per estimate	315	13	4
6th.—Upon the angle between the Towers' Platform and the Brass Mount, to set up a large Centine House of 6 feet square, projecting so much over the said Stone Wall that the inside of the Centine House shall be even ranged with the outside of the Stone Wall, for the better defence of the Graft. The planks to be 3 inches thick, of oak, and double cross to the inside with a fir deal board, and painted three times over in oil colours	25	0	0

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	£.	s.	d.
7th.—For repairing the Brass Mount Tower: the Parapet to be 7½ feet high above the Platform; the top to be coped with stock bricks, on an edge in mortar; the outside towards the Ditch, or Graft, to be ½ foot lower than the inside, between the Guns to make a double foot bank, each 1½ feet high and 3 feet broad; the top coped with stock bricks, on an edge in mortar, and to make 6 Ports for Guns where they shall be ordered, and 4 Ports in the Vaults to clear the Graft	74	4	8
8th. - There is a little square Tower upon the line between the Brass Mount and Devil's Tower, of 5½ foot broad and 12 feet long, where may be placed below two small guns for defence of the Graft; and before the coming into the said Tower, the Ramparts being fallen down, the same is requisite to be made again to its full breadth, as the next Rampart, with a pair of stairs to come from the Mint upon the Rampart	25	0	0
9th.—To make a great platform of 70 foot long and 25 feet broad, for the reverse of the Guns, being for 7 Guns, to be built where the Old Soldiers' Barracks are built, against the same Rampart, over against the New Barracks; the said Old Barracks will not stand longer than two years, the building being old	247	5	8
10th.—A Platform to be made next to the Devil's Tower, 40 feet long and 20 feet deep, for the reverse of the Guns, being for 4 Guns	125	10	8
11th.—The building for a new row of Soldier's Houses, for 2 Companies and a half, against the old Stone inner wall of the Tower, in the garden between the Salt Tower and Constable Tower, as was surveyed heretofore by the Right Honourable the Lords of his Majesty's Council, the charge amounts to ..	900	18	8
12th.—The Devil's Tower: in the two stories to mend and strengthen the floors; to place on every floor 2 Guns, and at the top of the Tower 2 Guns.			

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	£.	s.	d.
13th.—To place 2 Guns upon a little battery between the Devil's Tower and Mr. Conyers' Stables, mounted on a new carriage, which shall be estimated hereafter.			
14th.—The Tower next Mr. Conyers' stables, belonging to a Warder, is 12 feet wide and 10 feet broad; in the Vault below, is a Gun placed to clear the Ditch, or Graft; on this Tower can be made lodgings for 2 Guns only	8	15	0
15th.—The Stables of Mr. Conyers and Sir Jonas Moore, being 18 feet square in the clear, to be raised one Story higher, and lodgings for 12 Guns to be made of the said building	59	6	8
16th.—It is requisite that 6 guns more be brought upon the great platform to the river side upon standing carriages. The carriages shall be estimated hereafter.			
17th.—For finishing the outside of the brick wall of Tower Ditch, in length 620 feet, of the same dimensions as the other brick wall was made before; beginning where the brick wall was left off near little Tower Hill, and continued to the Iron Gate	1330	10	0
18th.—The Inner Stone *Wall, and Towers* upon the said wall. The 2 Towers marked B, B, upon the map, being the Byward Gate at the coming into the Tower: upon the said 2 Towers may be planted 7 guns: the making the platforms of oaken timber with a parapet, will amount to	80	4	0
Beauchamp Tower.—Near the Lieutenant's Stable, marked upon the map L, is a large Tower for five guns to be placed thereupon, the making of the platform of timber, with a parapet, will cost ..	77	6	0
Develin Tower.—At the west end of the old Office of Ordnance, (under which there is a large vault) marked upon the map M, for 4 guns, to be placed upon: the making of the platform of oak timber with a parapet, and fitting up the stairs to come upon the Tower, will amount to	80	5	0

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	£.	s.	d.
Flint Tower marked N, for 3 guns, to be placed upon: the making of platform with parapet, and repairing the stairs, will amount to	57	12	0
Bowyer's Tower.—Behind the old storehouse marked O, for 3 guns: the making of the platform of timber with a parapet, and repairing the stairs, will amount to	54	0	0
Brick Tower, marked P, for 3 guns: the making of a platform of timber and parapet, with repairing stairs, will cost	59	17	8
Jewel Tower, marked Q, for 3 guns: several lanthern lights are in this Tower, set up so, that if a platform be ordered to be built upon the Tower, the said lanthern lights must be taken down, the platform of oak timber will amount to ..	54	0	0
Constable Tower, marked R, for 3 guns: a platform of timber and parapet will cost	54	0	0
Broad-Arrow Tower next the new storehouse, marked with the letter S: the platform of timber, and the parapet for 4 guns, will amount to	64	0	0
Salt Tower.—Near the Lord Constable's Stables, for 4 guns: the making of the platform of oak, and the parapet, will amount to	80	10	0
The making of a large platform of oak timber upon the leads of *St. Thomas's Tower* and *Traitor's Gate* to the river side, 81 foot long, and 31 foot broad, planket, with 3-inch oaken planks, being for 9 guns: this platform is necessary to be done, having a flank on each side for 2 guns to clear the Ditch or Graft, will cost	294	0	0
Total of the platforms, &c. in this paragraph, No. 18.	955	14	0
19th.—To pull down all the walls that are built, by the several offices, cross over the stone rampart of the inside of the Tower, that hinder the going the rounds upon occasion, from tower to tower, will cost	45	0	0
20th.—To make up the battlements of the inner line of the parapet, between the towers, where it shall be requisite, will cost	90	0	0

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	£.	s.	d.
21st and 22nd.—Two Sally Ports to be made in the vaults of Develin Tower, and the Jewel Tower, to come from the inside of the Tower into the passage of the Mint; two little sheds must be pulled down, the two Warders' houses over against the Lieutenant of the Tower's Stables, and all the brick wall round the Bowling Green and garden as far as the Lieutenant's house, to bring it all upon a level for a large parade place, and to bring the brick wall in one place as a straight line towards the main guard from the Bloody Tower to the Hill, with the clearing of the earth away, and paving the whole ground for the parade place	426	8	10
23rd.—To repair the Stone Platform before the Main Guard, when the new one is built	9	15	0
24th.—For building of a new Main Guard upon the Hill where the old one is at present, of 47 feet 2 inches in length, and 19 feet 7 inches broad, a brick wall round, and the old roof to be set upon the new Guard House, with the taking down the old wall, will cost	120	4	8
25th.—To make two Warders' houses of the Lieutenant of the Tower's Stables; the said stables being 48 feet long, and 17 feet 6 inches broad, and two stories high, the garrets being left for the servants of the Lieutenant of the Tower: the fitting the said stables complete for lodgings, will cost ..	93	14	3
26th.—The Lieutenant of the Tower's Coach House, being 20 feet in the front, and 10 feet deep, may be rebuilt, and made a story higher of those materials that come off the old Warders' Houses before the Lieutenant's Stables, wherein may be lodged 12 soldiers	52	10	6
27th.—*Memorandum.*—Sir Thomas Stringer's lodgings, over St. Thomas's Tower at Traitor's Gate; there is one room of 9 feet broad, and 13 feet long, two stories high, let for £3 10*s.* per annum. Two little rooms of 12 feet long, and 10 feet broad each,			

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	£.	s.	d.
but no story over head. One room of 20 feet long, and 12 feet broad, no story over head. Two rooms 6 feet broad, and 13 feet long each, with a little room of 6 feet broad, and 9 feet long, besides the entry: all this house belongs to Sir Thomas Stringer, and is let at, per annum	10	0	0
28th.—In Captain Sherburne's Stable and Coach House next to the Chapel, being 21¼ feet long, and 17 feet deep, may be built upon for lodgings for 6 gunners, with the old materials of the two Warders' Houses, over the Lieutenant's Stables that are to be pulled down	40	15	0
29th.—The 3 Stables and Coach Houses belonging to Lord Allington, next to the Salt Tower, over against the great Platform to the river side, 60 feet long, 15½ feet broad, may be built and fitted up for soldiers' lodgings for 48 men, besides at the end, a great room with a chimney, and a pair of stairs to go to the second story	195	13	7
30th.—The Coach House of Sir John Moore, in length 18 feet front, and 22 feet deep, requires to be built upon; one story higher, with a roof in this building, may conveniently hold 24 soldiers	60	0	0
31st.—A little Brewhouse, lately belonging to Sir G. Wharton, deceased, is convenient to lodge 2 Commissioned Officers belonging to the Company, that shall quarter in No. 29 and 30, to be fitted up, will cost	15		0
32nd.—Upon the Platform, there requires, for the number of 21 guns, standing carriages, completely furnished and painted	210	0	0
And upon the Towers, 69 guns, new fashioned ship carriages for mounting the said guns, completely finished	228	0	0
Incident charges	180	0	0
Total	£6697	2	7

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The names and situations of the different towers within this fortress will be elucidated by the following

References to the annexed GROUND PLAN, *or* BIRD'S EYE *View.*

A. Martin's Tower.

This is called *Seynt Martins Tower*, in the survey made in Henry the Eighth's reign, but in the "exact *Draught*" of Queen Elizabeth's time, it is named the *Middle Tower*, whilst the By-ward Tower is styled *The Tower at the Gate.*

B. By-ward Tower.

C. Legge's Mount.

In the Elizabethan "*Draught*," this part is represented as a semicircular bastion, but is not named; it was most probably raised into a mount, and fortified with cannon, whilst George Legge (created Lord Dartmouth, in 1682) was Master General of the Ordnance.

D. Brass Mount.

In Elizabeth's Survey, this is simply called *the Mount.* The epithet *Brass* was, perhaps, annexed after it had been mounted with brass ordnance.

E. Develin Tower.

In the Elizabethan Survey, this is called "The Tower leading to the Iron Gate;" and in the "Perticular of the *Names* of the *Towers*," &c. dated in 1641, (a copy of which has already been given), it is called the "*Tower Gate.*" In the Survey, a Tower beyond it is shewn, and called "The *Tower* above y^e^ *Iron Gate.*"

F. Well Tower.

G. Cradle Tower.

H. Traitor's Tower.

In the Surveys of Henry the Eighth's, and Queen Elizabeth's Reigns, this is named *St. Thomas's Tower;* in the "Perticular" of 1641, it is called the *Watergate Tower.*

I. Draw Bridge.

This has been removed.

K. Bell Tower.

L. Beauchamp Tower.

This has been occasionally called *the Cobham Tower.*

M. Devereux Tower.

This is distinguished by the name of *Robyn the Devyll's Tower*, in the Survey of Henry the Eighth's time. In that of Elizabeth's Reign, it is called the *Devilin Tower.*

N. Flint Tower.

In the Survey of Henry the Eighth's Reign, this is called the *Bowears Tower*, whilst the latter is named *Burbege*, or *Burbedge Tower.*

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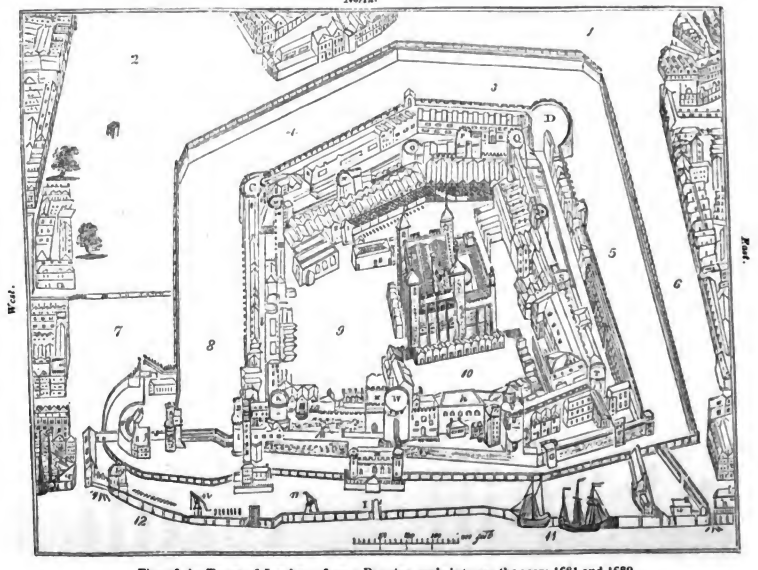

Plan of the Tower of London,—from a Drawing made between the years 1681 and 1689.

Vide description.

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O. Bowyer's Tower.
P. Brick Tower.
Q. Jewel Tower.

This is called *Martin Tower* in the Elizabethan Survey. In that of Henry's time it is described as a "Tow'r which we cannot name."

R. Constable Tower.
S. Broad-Arrow Tower.
T. Salt Tower.

In the Survey made in Henry the Eighth's Reign, this is called *Julyus Seaser Tower*.

V. Lanthorn Tower.
W. Record Tower.

This Tower, which has not unfrequently been called the *Wakefield Tower*, is named the *Hall Tower*, in the Survey 1597. In the "Perticular" of 1641, it is called *Artillery Tower*, or *Recorde Tower*; and the adjoining Tower, westward, is distinguished by the appellation of *Wakefield*, or *Bluddy Tower*, by which latter name that tower is still known.

X. Bloody Tower.
Y. Chapel of St. Peter.
Z. Main Court-yard.

a. White Tower.
b. Lieutenant's Lodgings.
c. Lower old Store-house.
d. Upper old Store-house.
e. Great new Store-house.
f. Office of the Ordnance.
g. Constable's Lodgings.
h. Mortar-piece Store-house.
i. Treasury House.
k. Little Store-house in Cold Harbour.
l. Mint Street.
m. Place for the Lions.
n n. Cranes on the Wharf.
o. Traitor's Bridge.
p. Banbury Castle.
q. Brewer's Quay.
r. Waggon-house.

The numerals in the plan, which are now first inserted, refer to the following places: viz.

1. Little Tower Hill.
2. Great Tower Hill.
3. 4. Northern side of the Moat.
5. Eastern side of ditto.
6. New Road to St. Katharine's Docks.
7. This space, which is now open, included the Bulwark Gate, and the buildings styled Petty Wales.
8. Western side of the Moat.
9. Garrison Parade.
10. This angle of the inner ward was occupied by the Jewel House and the Royal apartments.
11. 12. River Thames.

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In the year 1726, a more regular Ground Plan of this fortress than the one just described, was drawn by Capt. C. Lempriere for the Board of Ordnance; an engraving from that, also, has been given in the fourth volume of the "Vetusta Monumenta."

But little alteration was made in the general state of the Tower from the above period, until 1792, in which year, in consequence of the apprehensions entertained from popular dissaffection, many precautions were taken for its more effectual security. "Its garrison was greatly increased; several hundred men were employed in repairing the fortifications, opening embrasures, and mounting cannon; and on the western side of the fortress, a strong barrier was formed with old casks, filled with earth and rubble; the gates were closed at an early hour, and no one but the military allowed to go upon the ramparts."[35] The moat, also, which had been so choked up with rubbish, and overgrown with weeds, as to appear like a stagnant pool, was cleared out, and the water again admitted to flow in, from the Thames. Flood-gates were likewise constructed, and the walls and parapet of the counterscarp were repaired.

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[35] Bayley's Hist. of the Tower, Vol. i. p. 103, note.

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CHAPTER IV.

GENERAL NOTICES OF THE APPROPRIATION OF THE TOWER BUILDINGS IN THE EARLY PART OF THE REIGN OF KING JAMES THE FIRST — HISTORICAL AND DESCRIPTIVE PARTICULARS OF THE WHITE TOWER, INCLUDING ST. JOHN'S CHAPEL — BOARD OF ORDNANCE — SMALL ARMOURY — HORSE ARMOURY — SPANISH ARMOURY — JEWEL TOWER — ST. PETER'S CHAPEL, AND GOVERNOR'S HOUSE.

At the time of the coronation of James the First, in July, 1603, the accustomed procession from the Tower was omitted, on account of the plague, which was then raging in London with much virulence; but, in order that the "good citizens" might not be disappointed of their show, the "residue of the solemnities" was "*performed*" on the 12th of March, in the following year, when his Majesty, mounted "on a white gennet, under a rich canopie,"[1] and accompanied by the Queen, and Prince Henry, his son, "passed triumphantly from the Tower to Westminster," prior to the opening of his first parliament.

On the preceding day, King James had been admitted

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[1] Stow's Annals, by Howes, p. 837.

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into this fortress in great state. Among other flatteries, his entry was greeted with an "*Oration Gratulatory*," in Latin, and it was subsequently published with "his Highnesse' special allowance," by the author, William Hubbocke, together with a translation into English. From the "only known original," of that tract, (now in the Bodleian Library,) the late venerable Mr. Nichols inserted a copy in his work on the "Progresses of King James the First;" and the following extract is here given as a curious delineation of the Tower at the time referred to. It commences thus quaintly:—

"'I wil give,' saith the Lord, by Hosea the Prophet, 'the vale of Achor for the gate of Hope.' Now the vale of Achor was the first entrance for the people of Israel into the Land of Promise. Sembably, this fort of the TOWER, O mighty King, is the threshold, as it were, of the land of your behest; and the first step of your investiture into a Kingdome determined unto you by Divine decree, before you were borne.

"At the Porte Gates thereof there saluteth you, by my words, not only your faithfull Lieutenant, a Knight graced with ornaments of warre and peace, and the whole troop of armed men (the Wardens,) that surround your Princely person, your servants the guard in this place, but togither also there welcomes you, as it were with one obeysance, whole England, Fraunce, and Ireland, the soveraigne authority of all which, by the possession of this one place, you do so claspe, and, as it were, gripe in your hand. For this Tower and Royal Castle is the pledge for them all, and not onely the gate of good hope, but the haven of the whole scope. Here the stately and princely beastes the Lyons (couchant) of England do bow down to the Lyon (rampant) of Scotland; even to you, a true offspring of the Lyon of Juda, and rightly descended of Kings, your great great grandfathers. Here is mony coyned, the joynts and sinewes of warre, which now a good while since hath borne the image and superscription of you, our Cæsar. Here are the records of Estate, the closet of the patents of our Princes, your renowned progenitors, out of which,

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I may boldly avouch it, a truer story of our nation, by far, may be compiled, than any is yet extant. Here are dispersed, in the severall quarters of this place, certaine rounde turretts, for the custody of offenders against the King. This, which is next, our elders tearmed the *Bloody Tower*, for the bloodshed, as they say, of those infant Princes of Edward the Fourth, whom Richard the Third, of cursed memory (I shudder to mention it,) savagely killed, two togither at one time. Then there presenteth itselfe, looking dutifully from a great heigth upon you, but holding out brasen pieces of shot, threatning flashes of fire and thunderbolts to your enemies, a great and square Tower for martiall service; the strength of this place, a watchman for the City, a keeper of the peace, a commander of the country round about, wherein antiquity hath specially made memorable the Hall of the Romane Cæsar. Here is the *Jewelle-House* and the wealth of the Kingdome, containing implements of great valew above number, and al the gold and silver plate, with a most rich and Princely wardrop (wardrobe); all which have now long since poured themselves into your bosome, as the just owner, and ful heire to them al. Here are, that I may not name every thing, mountaines of bullets, and most large places, above and below for receipt of armour, with ordinance, dartes, pikes, bowes, arrowes, privy coats, helmets, gun-powder; finally, with the whole furniture to chivalry, for service on horse, on foot, by land, by sea, exceedingly stoared; and all these to subdue your enemies; to defend your friends, citizens, subjects, associats, and confederats; and to propulse danger, annoyance, violence, feare from your owne person, most puissant King, from your dearest spouse, our Soveraigne Queene, your progeny, estate, and whole Traine."

In juxta-position with the above, may be placed another passage from Nichols's "Progresses," which relates to King James's first entry into this fortress, on the 3rd of May, 1603; when his Majesty "set forward from the Charter-house," and went "quietly on horseback, to Whitehall," where he "took barge."—"Having shot the bridge, his present landing was ex-

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pected at Tower stayres, but it pleased his Highnesse to passe the Towre staires towards St. Katherine's, and there stayed on the water to see the ordinance on the *White Towre*, (commonly called Julius Cæsar's Towre,) being in number twenty pieces, with the great ordinance on Towre wharfe, being in number 100, and chalmers to the number of 130, discharged and shot off. Of which, all services were so sufficiently performed by the gunners, that a peale of so good order was never heard before; which was most commendable to all sorts, and very acceptable to the King."[2]

In our descriptive details of the Tower we shall, in a slight degree, depart from the order in which the marks of reference have been inserted in the Bird's Eye view, attached to the preceding chapter. But this departure will chiefly relate to the KEEP, or CITADEL, which, from being the most ancient, as well as the strongest of its towers, is entitled to priority in description.

This magnificent example of early Norman architecture was built by Bishop Gundulph, in William the Conqueror's reign, and, like that at Rochester, erected by the same prelate, it nobly testifies his powers as a military architect. From a very remote period, it has been called the WHITE TOWER; an appellation which

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[2] "Progresses of King James," Vol. i. p. 118.—When the King of Denmark, (James's brother-in-law,) visited this fortress, in August, 1606, he inspected most of its curiosities, and it is recorded to his fame, that "hee ascended the White Tower, where himselfe discharged a peece of ordinance;" after which, "being descended, Sir William Wade, Lieutenant of the Tower, entertained him and his chiefe attendants with a verry Royall banket." Ibid. p. 88.

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North-East View of the White Tower.

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it acquired through an ancient custom of *whitening* over its exterior walls; as is evident from a curious mandate, issued by Henry the Third, for the repair of this Tower, in the year 1241, and still extant among the Liberate Rolls. In that document the custom is twice alluded to in the following words, viz.—"ita quod murus, dictæ turris,—*qui de novo est dealbatus*;" and "*Et dealbari faciatis totum veterem murum circa sæpedictam turrim nostram.*"[3]

This edifice, which stands nearly in the central part of the inner ward, is a massive quadrangular structure, measuring 116 feet from north to south, and 96 feet east and west: its height is 92 feet; and at the south-east end is a semicircular projection of about 22 feet. The summit of the walls is embattled, and at each angle is an elevated turret, rising considerably above the roof; that at the north-east angle, which is the highest and largest, forms an irregular circle, projecting considerably from the main walls, and containing the great stair-case of communication throughout the building. This turret was formerly called the *Observatory*, it having been used for astronomical purposes, by the celebrated Flamstead, in Charles the Second's reign, before the erection of the Royal Observatory at Greenwich.

At the base of this Tower is a bold and deep splay, which considerably increases the thickness of the walls; and, "from the lower angle, and in continuation of the projecting face produced by it, rise broad simple buttresses, terminating a little below the battlements, and dividing the intervals between the turrets into com-

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3 Vide Bayley's History of the Tower, Vol. i. p. 107; and Rot. Liberat. 25 Hen. II. m. 20.

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partments, of which on the north side there are four; on the south, five; on the east, three, (besides the semicircular termination, and the round turret, both of which are strengthened by small buttresses, rising to the same altitudes;) and on the west, five."[4]

In its *Exterior* elevation, this tower consists of three stories, as is particularly shewn in the annexed *South-East view*. In the middle division, the windows are, in general, distinguished from those of the other stories, by being placed under semicircular recessed arches, extending from buttress to buttress. The original grand entrance was on the north side, where, over the present doorway, which is comparatively of modern date, there are remains of an arched portal of more ample dimensions: there is also an entrance on the south side. In the upper story, on the latter side, are four windows, which still retain their original character, but the others have been mostly altered: each of these are divided into two semicircular-headed lights by a square pier, with an impost moulding: over each window extends a large semicircular arch.

Speaking generally of this building, Mr. Bayley says, "the exterior has undergone so many repairs, that it is now difficult to trace any part of its primitive character: the windows, particularly those belonging to the two lower stories, have been greatly increased in dimensions, and the surface has been so generally coated with a mixture of flints, mortar, rubble-work, and modern masonry, as to leave but little of the original mode of construction visible. In some parts, however, of the south and east sides, just above the projecting base, or splay, two

[4] Bayley's History of the Tower, Vol. i. p. 108.

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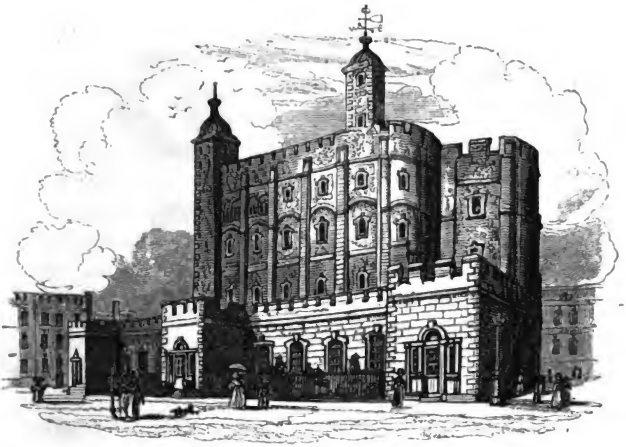

South-East View of the White Tower, and of the New Horse Armoury.

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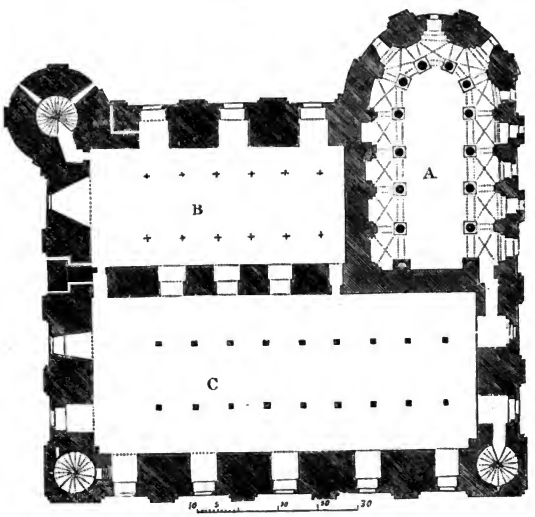

Plan of the First Floor in the White Tower.

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courses of beautiful well-squared stone are occasionally met with, laid in beds of mortar, composed of lime and sea sand, containing shells and small pieces of flint, and forming a joint of about three quarters of an inch in thickness; but whether this finished masonry was continued higher, or not, is now difficult to determine, though from some detached fragments, which are to be seen in other parts of the building, at different elevations, it is rendered extremely probable that all, or a great portion of the exterior facing was of a similar nature."[5] In support of this opinion, we may state, that it was a very common practice in the Norman times to face exterior walls with small pieces of squared stone.

Exclusive of the capacious vaults under the basement floor (which were formerly used as a depôt for saltpetre, and of which, from different alterations, scarcely an original feature remains,) the *Interior* of this Tower consists of three very lofty stories, divided longitudinally, from the base to the summit, by a wall, seven feet in thickness. Another division is formed by a similar wall, extending from the preceding one to the eastern exterior wall, as shewn in the attached "*Plan of the First Floor.*" The area is thus separated into three apartments, measuring respectively ninety feet, by thirty-six feet—sixty-three feet by twenty-eight feet—and forty feet by fourteen feet.

The two largest apartments on the ground floor (answering to those marked B and C in the plan) are rectangular; but the smallest, which is beneath the chapel, (marked A) is distinguished from the others by having both a semicircular termination, and a vaulted roof of a

[5] Bayley's History of the Tower, Vol. i. p. 109.

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similar form, but extremely plain. This vault exhibits a singular specimen of early construction. "It appears," Mr. Bayley remarks, "as if made of large stones, placed longitudinally in the direction of the room; but, on examination, proves to be composed of similar materials to those used in the masonry of the exterior. The framework, or centering, on which the vault was constructed, seems clearly to have been made of slabs of timber; and this being covered with a thick bed of cement previous to laying any stones, and then being allowed to remain till the whole had become dry and consolidated, has given to the roof that appearance of regular stonework, which is above described. The springing of the vault is not in continuation with the face of the wall, but recedes; all the vaults in this building approximate to the horse-shoe form. The eastern termination of this apartment is coved, and the opposite end finished with a deeply-recessed arch, agreeing in character with all the other parts of the building."[6] The walls of this apartment, which are sixteen feet thick, were originally perforated by four narrow loop-holes, but these have each been widened to the extent of four feet; there also appears to have been another small opening into the corresponding division to that marked B in the plan. On the north side is a small semicircular-headed door-way, communicating with a dark cell, or dungeon, formed in the thickness of the wall, ten feet long by eight feet wide.

There can be no doubt of this apartment having been originally intended for a prison; and, if tradition may be relied on, it was the place of confinement of the ill-fated Sir Walter Raleigh, even so lately as the reign of

[6] History of the Tower, Vol. i. p. 111.

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Staircase in White Tower.

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James the First; and it is said, that his "History of the World" was written in this gloomy chamber. That prisoners were immured here in Queen Mary's reign, there is certain evidence from remaining vestiges of inscriptions at the sides of the door-way leading into the cell:—but "these have been so mutilated, that the only ones that could be made out were, '*He that indureth to the ende shall be savid. M.* 10. *R. Rvdston. Dar. Kent. An°* 1553.'—'*Be faithful vnto deth, and I wil give the a crowne of life. T. Fane,* 1554.'—and '*T. Cvlpeper, of Darford.*' "[7] These persons were all concerned in the insurrection of Sir Thomas Wyatt: Rudston "was tried and condemned, but received pardon;—a lenity, which was probably extended to Fane and Culpeper, as we find no account of their execution."[8]

In proceeding to the first story, we must notice that the communication between the floors is chiefly by a spacious stair-case within the circular part of the north-east extremity of the Tower, the vaulting of which appears to have been constructed in the same peculiar manner as that of the prison, just described. The newel, or circular column round which the stairs wind, exhibits an interesting specimen of ancient masonry, the stones being disposed in courses, of about seven or eight inches deep, and bedded in thick, intervening layers of coarse cement. Small loop-holes, or embrasures, deeply splayed, with semicircular heads, admit the light.[9] All the stairs throughout the building were of stone; but, having become greatly worn, they have been cased with boards.

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[7] Bayley's History of the Tower, Vol. i. p. 111.

[8] Ibid.

[9] See the annexed wood-cut.

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The two large apartments on the first floor respectively correspond with those of the ground story, but that immediately over the vaulted room was originally a *Chapel*, though now appropriated as a repository for records.[10] Its patron Saint is St. John the Evangelist, yet, with evident impropriety it has long been designated as *Cæsar's* Chapel.

This is a very curious example of the bold and massive character of Norman architecture, as may be known from the annexed view of its '*Interior*;' but, from the numerous cases, &c. which encumber it in every part, it cannot be seen to advantage. It consists of a nave and two side aisles, the latter uniting into one at the east end, which, like that of the vaulted chamber below it, terminates semicircularly.

From the attached *Section* and *Plan*, numbered 1 and 2, a correct idea may be formed of the architectural arrangements of this chapel, which occupies the entire space from the first story to the roof. In dimensions, the area of the nave exactly corresponds with that of the vaulted room; but the whole breadth of the side aisles has been obtained by subtracting from the thickness of the walls. The *references* in the plan, point out the different divisions of the interior, viz.—A, the nave; B, B, the side aisles; C, the circular termination, eastward; *a. a. a.* the three easternmost windows; *c.* the entrance

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[10] At what particular time the chapel was first assigned to that use is uncertain, but it is known to have been a repository for records as early as Charles the Second's time. Those now stored here are chiefly proceedings in the Court of Chancery during the reigns of James the First and Charles the First.—Bayley's Hist. of the Tower, Vol. i. p. 115.

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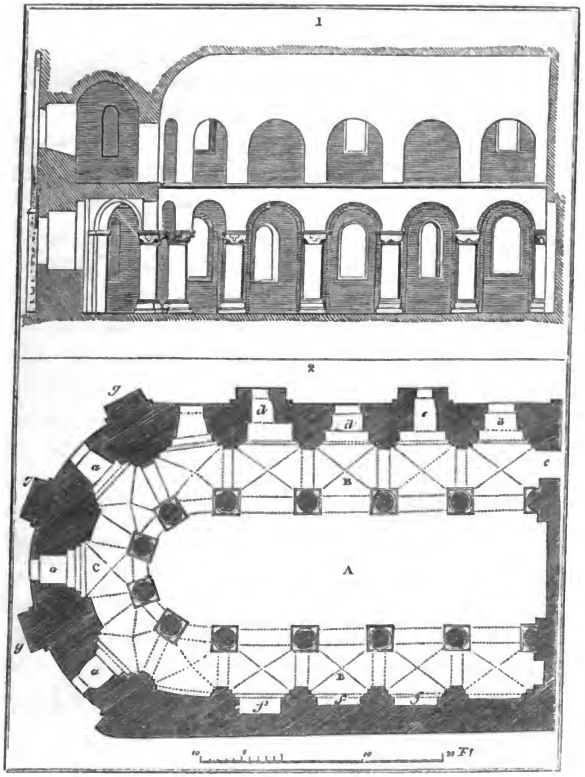

Section and Plan of the Chapel in the White Tower.

Vide description.

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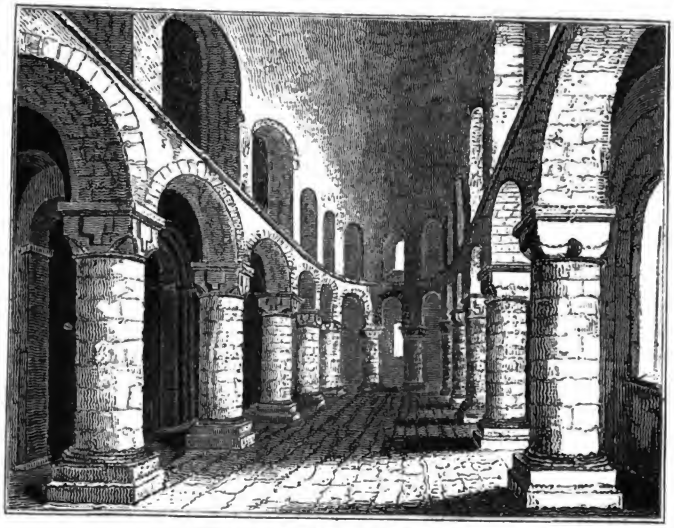

Interior of the Chapel in the White Tower.

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door-way; *d. d. d.* the windows on the south side; *f.f.f.* recesses in the north wall; *g. g. g.* the great piers which sustain the east end.

The nave is separated from the aisles by an arcade of plain semicircular arches, supported by twelve columns and two half columns; eight of these are placed opposite to each other, at equal distances apart, and the other four are arranged semicircularly, and much nearer together, at the eastern end. In the ornaments of the capitals, there is a studied variety, and, in one or two instances, a kind of volute scroll is introduced; each capital is terminated by a square abacus, variously moulded, and occasionally enriched by sculpture. An intervening string course, plainly chamfered, separates the lower arcade from an upper one, of correspondent width, but of less elevation, which opens to a gallery occupying the entire space over the aisles: all the arches of this division spring from low and plain rectangular piers.

Projecting from the walls in the side aisles are twelve square pilasters, each terminating with a chamfered moulding, and being connected by a plain semicircular arch, with its correspondent column in the nave. Between the pilasters, another series of plain arches, but deeply recessed, extends round the interior, within which five semicircular-headed windows are inserted on the south side, and three others in the eastern recesses. A similar number of windows, of the same character, but much smaller in dimensions, admit light into the gallery above. The kind of masonry employed in this part of the building will be understood by the following extract from Mr. Bayley's description:—

"The whole interior of this chapel is now covered with a thick coat of plaster; but, on breaking this away,

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for the purpose of ascertaining the mode of construction of so interesting a part of the building, it was discovered that the columns, the arches which divide the centre from the side aisles, and the pilasters, together with the piers and arches opening into the gallery, are all faced with well-finished stones, retaining the marks of the tool, and laid in courses, with thick joints of coarse mortar. In the elevation of seven of the central columns, there are nine of these courses; in three others, an additional half course under each capital; and in the remaining two, ten courses: the two half columns, at the west end, are distinguished by being constructed of stones of a much larger dimension. The intervals between the finished masonry are filled up with rubble-work of various sized stones, plastered over. The vaultings of the nave and gallery are semicircular; that of the aisles is composed of two intersecting semicircles, with the groining, or hips, formed by hand. They are all constructed upon the same principle, and with materials similar to those used in the chamber below; but the impress of the frame-work, or centering, was either carefully avoided in the erection, or was afterwards chiselled, or rubbed down. The floor, which is now boarded, was formerly of a thick grayish-coloured cement, of a very hard substance, and polished surface; it appears to have been divided by lines into regular figures, to resemble stone. The floor of the gallery is also boarded, but it was formerly of square tiles, which, within these few years, have been entirely removed."[11]

This Chapel is thought to have been anciently used for the private devotions of the Sovereign, his family, and

[11] Bayley's History of the Tower, Vol. i. p. 113.

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household, when the Court was kept within the Tower; and is, doubtless, that which is called the Chapel of the King and Queen, in the return to the Commission of Inquiry issued in the 9th of Edward the Third. At what time it was desecrated is unknown, but its dilapidation would have been suffered until this fortress had ceased to be a royal residence.

In the reign of Henry the Third, service was regularly performed here by a chaplain, who received a yearly stipend of fifty shillings: he had, also, provided for him, a vesture, chalice, and other things necessary for the duties of his holy office. In 1261, the King, on the decease of his sister-in-law, Senchia, Countess of Cornwall, and Queen of the Romans, granted the annual sum of fifty shillings, payable at the Exchequer, to the master and brethren of the neighbouring Hospital of St. Katharine's, for the support of a chaplain who should pray here, daily, for her soul.[12]

Henry the Third paid great attention to the repairs and adornment of this Chapel. Among other things, in 1240, he commanded that three glass windows should be made; in one of which, towards the north, was to be "a little Mary, holding her child," and in the others, towards the south, "The Holy Trinity," and "St. John, the Apostle and Evangelist." The rood and cross were also to be well painted, and with good colours; and in addition, two *fair Images* were to be made and painted—"et fieri faciatis et depingi duas ymagynes pulchras ubi meliùs et de centiùs fieri possint in eadem capella,"—wherever it could best and most properly be done in the

[12] Bayley's History of the Tower, Vol. i. p. 114:—from original documents among the Close, Liberate, and Patent Rolls.

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same Chapel, of *St. Edward*, holding a ring and presenting it, to *St. John the Evangelist*.[13]

These figures, and this action, had reference to the legend which states, that King Edward, when he had one day emptied his purse in alms-giving, was accosted by St. John, in the disguise of a pilgrim, who required charity for St. John's sake. The King gave the stranger his ring, which was afterwards sent back to him from Paradise by the Saint, with a message foretelling the period of his decease, and his reception into Heaven.—However fabulous this story may now seem, the greatest credit was given to it in former ages; and Edward the Second, in allusion to it, offered, at his coronation in the Abbey Church, at Westminster, a pound of gold, fashioned like a King, holding a ring in his hand; and eight ounces of gold, made like a Pilgrim, extending his hand to receive it. Even the very ring, which St. John had sent back from Paradise, is stated to have been taken off St. Edward's finger on the first removal of his remains after canonization, and deposited, in commemoration of the miracle, among the holy relics at Westminster.

The two large apartments on this floor, are similar in dimensions to those immediately below them; but all these apartments have been so disguised by alterations made in converting them into *Armouries*, that almost every vestige of their original character is obliterated. We shall, therefore, proceed to the upper story; after noticing, that, independently of the great stair-case of

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[13] Rot. Liberat. 25 Henry III. m. 20.—This document was first quoted by Strype, in his additions to Stow's "London," and is the same which contains the passages before noticed respecting the presumed origin of the name of the *White* Tower.

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communication in the north-east angle, there are others in the north-west and south-west angles, which correspond with that "in all the leading features of construction," but which begin only on the first, and thence communicate with the upper floor: these terminate in small apartments in their respective turrets.[14]

In point of division, the uppermost story exactly corresponds with those beneath it; but the rooms are much loftier, and, from the originality of their appearance, excite a greater degree of interest. In that called the *Council Chamber*, (which is the largest apartment, and reputed to be the place where councils were assembled when the reigning monarch held his court in the Tower,) the roof is sustained by vast beams of timber, disposed in transverse and horizontal frame-work, and supported by two rows of massive posts. This arrangement has every appearance of high antiquity, and harmonizes exceedingly well with the grand and substantial features of the other parts of the building.[15] The eastern wall is pierced by five lofty openings, with semicircular arches, but without ornament or moulding of any kind, which communicate with the adjoining room: one of these is partly closed with a thin partition, in which is a smaller opening, equally plain, and assimilating in character to the arch over it. It was at a Council, sitting in this Chamber, in 1483, that, as traditionally affirmed, the Protector Gloucester ordered Lord Hastings to be led to

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[14] Bayley's Hist. of the Tower, Vol. i. p. 115.

[15] Ibid.—In which work there is a perspective view of this apartment: another, in outline, has been given in the fourth volume of the "*Vetusta Monumenta*," together with several sections and plans of this edifice.

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instant execution, and commanded the arrest of the Archbishop of York, the Bishop of Ely, and Lord Stanley.

The whole of this floor is now annexed to the Record Office; the largest apartment having been so appropriated at the instance of Mr. Lysons, the late Keeper of the Records, in 1811. Additional light has been admitted into both apartments by the insertion of windows in the roof.

Within the thickness of the wall, surrounding this story, and "communicating with the three grand corner stairs, are small galleries, arched over with a semicircular vaulting; and, opposite the windows which open into them, are large semicircular-headed openings, for the admission of light to the apartments. The whole of the roof is covered with lead, and the four angular turrets, which rise above it, are terminated with leaden cupolas, each supporting a weather-cock and crown." Not the slightest vestige either of a fire-place, or a well, has been discovered in any part of this edifice.

To the particulars, inserted in the preceding Chapter, of the reparations made in the White Tower, at different periods, may be added, that great alterations were made in the extent of windows and in other parts of the building, in the reigns of James the Second, and William and Mary, when the lower rooms were first converted into *Armouries*;—and others, but of less importance, were made in the reign of George the Third.

The largest apartment on the ground floor of this Tower, which is now called *The Volunteer Armoury*, contains upwards of 30,000 stand of small arms, all curiously arranged in racks, flinted, and prepared for immediate

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[16] Bayley's History of the Tower, Vol. i. pp. 115, 116.

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service. Many thousand pistols, swords, bayonets, and other weapons, are also kept here in a like state, disposed in ingenious devices. Here, likewise, is a figure of the celebrated *Charles Brandon*, Duke of Suffolk, the great favourite of Henry the Eighth, in a suit of bright steel armour, holding a tilting lance in the right hand. In the adjoining apartment, called the *Tool Room*, many thousand arms are also stored, together with armourers' tools, and warlike implements of divers kinds.

The two great rooms on the second floor, are similarly occupied as *Armouries*; but more particularly for the *Cavalry* and *Sea Service*, than for that of the Infantry. Arms for nearly 50,000 men, are stored in these apartments; including cavalry and nautical weapons of every description, as swords, spears, boarding-pikes, cutlasses, carbines, pistols, breast-plates, &c. Many thousands are in racks, and the remainder variously arranged along the sides and ends of each apartment. Several suits of armour are likewise preserved here; together with numerous other curiosities of a warlike character.

All the above-enumerated stores are under the care of the *Ordnance Department*;—to which, also, is attached an old stone building that adjoins to the eastern side of the White Tower, and is thought to have been erected in the fourteenth century. The building is now used as a repository for books and papers belonging to the Office of Ordnance. Its north-east angle is constituted by a sort of embattled tower.

As the seat of this department is in the Tower, we shall introduce some general particulars of the history and constitution of the Board of Ordnance, before proceeding with our account of the other Armouries.

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THE ORDNANCE OFFICE.

The Tower of London, as the palace and chief fortress of the monarchs of England, has from time immemorial been a place of deposit, in times of peace, for the national arms and accoutrements. It has also been the Royal depôt for all the stores and armour which the principal military officers of the Crown, and Sheriffs of Counties were required to provide on occasions of domestic or foreign warfare. Thus, when Geoffry de Mandeville was commanded to surrender the Tower to the Royal authority, in 1213, "the arms and other stores being therein" were particularly mentioned;[17] and, in the second year of the reign of King Henry the Third, a mandate was issued to the Archdeacon of Durham, to transmit to this arsenal "twenty-six suits of armour, five iron cuirasses, one iron collar, three pair of iron fetters, and nine iron helmets," which had been left in his charge, in the time of the preceding monarch.[18] In the same reign frequent notices occur of the arms and warlike machines contained in the Tower: and occasional orders for payment of the armourers and other artificers employed therein; for removing engines thence to Dover Castle, and for depositing, in the former fortress, others which had been used at the sieges of Bedford and Biham.[19] Similar writs are also extant of the respective reigns of the first and second Edwards.

In the second year of Edward the Third, John de

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[17] Rot. Claus. in Turre, A° 15, John. m. 5.

[18] Ibid. 2 Hen. III. p. 1, m. 13.

[19] Ibid. 5 Hen. III. m. 12, and 9 Hen. III. p. ii. m. 2.

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Flete, "keeper of the wardrobe in the Tower," was commanded to deliver to John de Montgomery, for the use of Giles de Badlesmere, all the arms and armour, as well "*cote-armurs*" as other, which had belonged to Giles, his father, then deceased.[20] Nine years afterwards, the Sheriff of Sussex was directed to send to the Tower, two large oak trees, which had been presented to the King, by John de Warren, Earl of Surrey, out of his Forest of Werch, "pro virgis cujusdam magni ingenii[21] in Turri London. existentis, inde faciendis."[22] After a short interval, the King being then at war with France, a mandate was issued for conveying a certain "magnum ingenium" from the Tower to Sandwich, where it was left, for want of a vessel to carry it across the channel; the Lieutenant and chief carpenter of the Tower were subsequently directed to re-convey the same to its former place of custody.[23] In 1339, John de Flete, "keeper of the arms in the Tower," was commanded to buy and provide as many "espringals, quarrells, hauberks, lances, arblasts, bows, and arrows," as were necessary for the defence of the Castle of Southampton.[24] Two years afterwards, directions were given to the Sheriff of the county of Gloucester, for the purchase and delivery into the Tower, of one thousand bows and three hundred sheaves of arrows; of the former, two hundred and fifty were to be painted, and the rest were to be white or plain; the price of each painted bow was fixed at eighteen-pence, a plain bow at twelve-pence,

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[20] Ibid. 2 Edw. III. m. 14. [21] Probably a battering ram.

[22] Rot. Claus. 2 Edw. III. p. i. m. 32. [23] Ibid. 16 Edw. III.

[24] Ibid. 13 Edw. III. p. ii. m. 14;—the words are, "springaldos, quarrellos, paneas, lanceas, arbalistas, arcus, et sagittas."

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and the arrows at twelve-pence per sheaf.[25] A writ of the nineteenth year of the monarch last-named, commands Robert de Mildenhale, "keeper of the wardrobe in the Tower of London," to receive into his custody, and to take especial care of eight hundred painted bows, four hundred plain bows, one thousand sheaves of arrows, and four thousand bow-strings, which were to be provided by the Sheriffs of London.[26]

The reigns of Richard the Second and of the Henries Fourth and Fifth, furnish many interesting documents relative to the warlike stores lodged in, or delivered out of the Tower; but as the following schedule, or inventory, of the articles taken out of the armoury in the time of Henry the Sixth, (the next succeeding monarch,) is more explicit in its details than many others, it is here inserted in preference. It commences thus:—

"This is a parte of the goodes that hath been delivered out of the armore by the King's comaundement sythen the tyme that John Stanley hath been serjeant of the armorye as it apperith hereafter mor playnly by the p'cells that here folowen.

"Furst viij swerds and a long blade of a swerde made in wafters,[27] some gretter and some smaller for to lerne the King to play in his tendre age.

"It'm a lytyl harneys that the Erle of Warwyk made for the Kyng, or that he went over the see, garnysshed with gold, which was delivered to y^e^ Duc of Suff' for his sone.

"It'm xiiij li. delyvered by John Merston, clerc of the Jewells, to the said sergeant for to pay to certain armurers which

[25] Ibid. 15 Edw. III. p. ii. m. 21.

[26] Rot. Franc. in Turre, A° 19 Edw. III. p. i. m. 25.

[27] "With the flat of the blade placed in the usual direction of the edge, and hence wafting the wind at every blow."—Meyrick's Critical Enquiry into Antient Armour, Vol. ii. p. 144.

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is doon as it apperith by endentures and the said money paied at the tymes, that is to say, vij li. at a tyme.

"It'm a Scottysh swerde hylte and pomell covered with sylver, and a small corone aboute the pomell, which was stollen oute of the King's chambr' and the blade broken and cast into Tempse." (the Thames.)

"It'm i banner of satyn entertaille[28] of the armes of England and Fraunce.
It'm ij banners beten of the armes of England and Fraunce.
It'm iij banners of satyn of entertaill of the armes of Fraunce.
It'm iij banners beten of the armes of Fraunce.
It'm vj banners of entertaille of Seint George's armes.
It'm vj banners beten of the Trinitee.
It'm iiij banners beten of our Lady.
It'm ij pennons of the feders,[29] of entertaille.
It'm v pennons beten of the feders.
It'm cccix pensells of the feders.

"Of the which banners, ij were delyv'ed to John Chetewyn, and ij to Thom̄s Boulde and ij to John Seynlov that tyme squiers for y^e^ King's body and ij nowe late to my Lord of Shrewsbury and all the remanent were delyv'ed for y^e^ entierments of the iij queenes that is to say, Quene Kat^r^ine, the Quene of Fraunce, and Quene Joh̄an, my Lord of Bedford, and my Lady his wyf, and the pennons and y^e^ pensell were delyv'ed in like wyse for to sett aboute y^e^ herses of hem. And wher' that it liked him that had the rowel y^e^of.

"It'm a breste with a boxe upon for the egle, and a pomell of a swerd with armes y^e^in which was delyv'ed to Parker, arm^r^rer, for to make y^e^ King's herneys by, which he hath loste.

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[28] From the French *entretailler*, "to cut one within the other," *wove-work*.

[29] Probably the Prince of Wales' Feathers.

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"It'm iij lityll cote armurs, which been the sergeant's fee of the armrye, and so delyv'ed by the King's comãundement to hym by cause that they were so lytill, and wole serve no man, for they wer made for hym when he was but vij year of age.

"It'm xxxiij standards of worsted of ye armes of England and Fraunce.
It'm xxij standards of worsted of the armes of Fraunce.

"The which standards been woren and spendid in karying of the King's herneys in and oute into his chambre for faulte of their stuffs.

"It'm v banners for trumpetts deliv'ed to ye trumpetts when the Duc of Gloucestr went to the rescowe of Calais.

"It'm viij habergons, some of Meleyn (Milan) and some of Westewale, (Westphalia), of the which, v. of Meleyn were delyv'ed to the College of Eyton, and other iij broken to make slewys of woyders and yes.[30]

"Item x gowers of sylke v. white and blewe, and other iij pourpul, and other ij pourpul and gold, which were delyv'ed into the King's chamb'r, to serve hym, when he had nede.

"It'm vi tresses of sylke, iij white and blewe, and iij pourpul and xv smale poynts of silke for the King's briganders which were .... in like deliv'ed in like wyse.

"It'm ij yerds, iij q'rters of corse of rede sylke.
"It'm d'yerds d'q'rters of rede velewet.
"It'm iiij grosses of poynts.
"It'm vi armyng nayles.

"All splendid and moch more to oon of the King's herneys.

"It'm ix olde picers, i olde paytrill brode of ledder, xi testures, iiij frounters of testures, iij olde justing sadells peynted of divers werks, x olde justing sadells p'cell broken for the pese, iij olde justing sadells for tornements, xiij olde bastard sadyll some p'cell broken, iiij smale olde sadylls, xij olde sheldes poynted, xiij olde paveys peyntyd, x olde banner shafts bound with yren, v olde spere shafts for pese, i spere-shaft, i long spere with a hed, i

[30] Sleeves of vuiders, i. e. with openings through which the mail appeared.

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olde trapper of plat broken in divᵛse places, ij olde grete coeffers bound with yren and lacking keys which wer cast out of an olde house in the Touir of London, by Maistʳ Will'm Clyf, at yat tyme clerc of the werks by cause that they wold serve for no thing. And yᵉ house poulled downe.

"It'm a hamer, i bequerne, i payr of pynsons, iij pounde of wyre, which was sold by Maistʳ Wylliam Fox armerer.

"It'm i bowestaff worme eten delyvered by the King's cō-maundment to my Lorde of Gloucestʳ when he went over to Caleys.

"It'm i peyre of trussing coeffers, and i payir of gardeviants, spended long tyme agoo in the King's cariage.

"It'm a wyre hatt garnyssed yᵉ bordour serkyll. And a sterr of sylver gylt lacking a point in yᵉ sterre, wᵗoute bocle and pendant, delyv'ed to John Curson sometyme squier for the King's body.

"It'm a peyr of curasses delyvered to the Lord Powys that last died which yat the King comāunded to geve him."[31]

The Society of Antiquaries, of London, possess a manuscript inventory of the royal stores and habiliments of war in the different arsenals in this kingdom, taken in the first year of the reign of King Edward the Sixth. By that, it appears that the military accoutrements then in the Tower consisted of "Brigandines[32] complete, having sleeves covered with crimson;—do. with sleeves covered with cloth of gold:—do. with sleeves covered with blue satin;—millars coats covered with fustian and white cloth:—and brigandines covered with linen cloth with long taces.[33] There were "also in yᵉ Tower" at that time, as appears by the subsequent part of the same inventory,

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[31] Breve de Priv. Sigill. in Turre, Aᵒ 33 Hen. VI.

[32] Military jackets.

[33] The skirts or coverings of the pockets.—Several of these Brigandines are still remaining in the Tower.

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Targetts steilde with gonnes[34]	35
Targetts playne without gonnes	7
Targett with xx little gonnes	oone
Terget w. four gonnes	oone
A long tergett w. oone gonne	oone
A target of the shell of Tortys	oone
Item, two hole barbes of stele for horses, graven and enelede (enamelled) blue	
Pole-axes with gonnes in th' ends	27
Pole-axes without gonnes	2
Short pole-axes playne	100
Two-hand pole-axes	4
Hand pole-axes with a gonne, and a case for the same	oone
Pole-axes gilt, the staves covered with cremesyne velvet fringed with silke of golde	4
Great Holly water sprincles[35]	118
Holly water sprincles, with gonnes in th'ende	7
Holly water sprincle, with three gonnes in the topp[36]	oone
Little Holly water sprincles	392
Item, one hatte of stele, and two staves, called Holly water sprincles	
Gaddes of steile	300

From another inventory of the Tower stores, which was taken in the reign of Elizabeth, we learn the following particulars of the "bows and arrows" which were then contained within it:—

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[34] "After the invention of fire-arms, instead of the spike issuing from a boss, the centres of some targets were armed with one or more small gun barrels, an aperture being made above, and covered with a grating for the convenience of taking aim."—Meyrick's Critical Inquiry into Antient Armour, Vol. iii. p. 13.

[35] "These were staves with large cylindrical heads, and having a spear point at the end. Some are still shewn in the Tower, and are ignorantly attributed to the Danes."—Meyrick's Critical Enquiry into Antient Armour, Vol. iii. p. 14.

[36] This is now in the Tower, and is called Henry the Eighth's *walking-stick*.

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Bowes with $^{xx}_{ccclij}$ vi decaied	..	..	8185
Bowstaves	..	..	6019, inde, 938 unservic.
Wreckes of Bowstaves		..	983
Slurbowes	..	..	15, inde, 1 lacks a bender.
Crosbowes	..	..	180 inde, 1 lacks a tiller
Bowstringes	..	..	196 gros—10 doz.

Arrowes, viz.

Lyvery arrowes 14,125 shefe, whereof 731 shefe to be repayred, and 30 shefe decaied.

Slurbowe arrowes 132, whereof 12 with fierwoorkes.

Crosbowe arrowes decaied 500.

Musket arrowes with 56 to be new fethered, 892 shefe 13 arrows, and one case full for a di. culvering.

Longebow arrowes for fier woorks 12 shefe,—and

Longebowe arrowes with fierwoorks 98 shefe decaied.[37]

King Charles the First, soon after his accession to the throne, caused a Survey to be made of all the armour, arms, and ammunition in the Tower of London, and Commissioners were appointed to prove, repair, and put the same into a state fit for service.[38] On the Restoration of Charles II., William Legge, Esquire, who had been deprived of his office of Master of the armouries, was reinstated, but before entering upon his official duties, he requested that an inventory might be taken of the contents of the Tower Armoury. This was accordingly done, in 1660; it contains many interesting particulars, but is too long for insertion in this place.[39]

About that time, the general prevalence of *fire-arms* and consequent disuse of armour, caused the abolishment of the duties of the respective officers to whom the custody of the military stores in the Tower had been in antient times entrusted. These were

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[37] Meyrick's Antient Armour, Vol. iii. p. 66. [38] Ibid. p. 89.

[39] Vide Archæologia, Vol. xi. p. 97, et seq.

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The *Balistarius,* or keeper and provider of cross-bows, to whom was allotted, in the reign of Henry the Third, a daily stipend of twelve-pence, a doublet and surcoat furred with lambskin, yearly, and an extra allowance for three servants.[40]

The *Attiliator Balistarum,* whose duty it was to provide the harness and accoutrements for the cross-bows: he received, daily, under Henry the Third and Edward the First, seven-pence halfpenny, and a suitable robe every year.[41]

The *Bowyer* was entrusted with the provision and custody of the bows, and in addition to his daily wages, was allowed a robe similar to that of the Balistarius.

The *Fletcher* was appointed to superintend the making and delivery of the arrows for the use of the royal army.

The *Galeator* had a like duty to perform with respect to the helmets and head-pieces;—and to

The *Armourer* was allotted the repair and provision of the remaining portions of the military accoutrements.

As early as the reign of Edward the Fourth, the chief charge of providing the arms, ammunition, and stores for the use of the army and navy, was vested in an officer styled the "*Master of the King's Ordnance.*" His allowance in that reign was eleven shillings per day, for himself, and sixpence, each, for his clerk and valet.[42] The present establishment of the *Board of Ordnance* consists of the following officers:

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[40] Bayley's History of the Tower, Vol. i. p. 216, from Rot. Claus. temp. Hen. III.

[41] Ibid. from Rot. Claus. temp. Hen. III. and Edw. I.

[42] Rot. Claus. A° 1 Edw. IV. m. 2.

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The *Master-General,* who is always chosen from the generals of the army, and is, by virtue of his office, Colonel-in-chief of the Artillery and Engineers. This officer is invested with a jurisdiction over all his Majesty's engineers employed in the several fortifications of the kingdom; to him they are all accountable, and from him they receive their orders and instructions.

The *Lieutenant-General,* whose duty it is to cause the orders issued by the Master-General to be executed, and to see that the regiments of Artillery, with the Ordnance respectively attached, are kept in a state fit for immediate service.

The *Surveyor-General* is entrusted with the inspection and arrangement of the stores. He examines and allows all bills for stores, labour, &c.

The *Clerk of the Ordnance* draws the estimates for provisions and supplies, makes debentures for the payment for stores, and transacts other official business connected with the same.

The *Store-keeper* has the immediate custody of all the arms, stores, &c. deposited in the Tower, for supply of the army and navy.

The duty of the *Clerk of the Deliveries,* previous to the year 1826, was to issue the stores demanded for various services, and to give discharges for the same to the Store-keeper; but he now examines the accounts of the last-mentioned officer, and of his inferior agents.

There are also a *Treasurer* and a *Paymaster* attached to the Ordnance Office, but these are not board officers.

In the reign of King Henry the Sixth, Thomas Vaughan, the then Master of the Ordnance, presented a memorial, stating that,—"Forasmuche as ther is noon housing certaynly assigned for the ordinaunce to be

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kept, for lack whereof ther hath growen grete hurt, and dayly doth unto the said ordenaunce and other stuffe longing to his said office," it was desirable that the King should grant to his use, "all the grounde and soille called y^e^ Tour wharf," from the Water-gate, (now the Traitor's Gate,) unto the Gate of Saint Katharine's, with "all maner of housing and other appurtenaunces sette uphon the same." His request was accordingly granted.[43]

The business of the Ordnance Office was formerly transacted in some small houses behind Saint Peter's Chapel; but some of the buildings of the old Palace, having been taken down in the reign of King James the Second, a new office was constructed on the site which they had occupied to the south of the White Tower. On the destruction of that office by fire, in 1788, it was replaced by the present stately and extensive edifice.

THE GRAND STORE HOUSE,

On the north side of the inner ward, is a large brick building, with stone quoins, which was commenced in the reign of King James the Second, and finished in that of William and Mary, who, on its completion, entertained their Court therein with a sumptuous dinner.[44] This edifice is 345 feet in length, and 60 feet in width. It is three stories high, and is surmounted by a turret which contains the garrison clock, and from which may

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[43] Breve de Priv. Sigill. in Turre, A° 30 Hen. VI.

[44] On this occasion, the workmen and labourers employed in the construction of the building, attended upon the royal guests, wearing white gloves and aprons, the badges of free-masonry.—Maitland's History of London, Vol. i. p. 168.

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be obtained an extensive prospect over the surrounding country. The main entrance is by a stately door-way on the south side, adorned with four columns, an entablature, and a pediment of the Doric order. On the latter are sculptured the royal arms, with enrichments of ornamental trophy-work, the design of the celebrated Grindling Gibbons. The Ground-floor is termed "*the Train of Artillery,*" from its having been the store-room wherein were deposited the principal pieces of ordnance intended for field service; but which, together with their harness, &c. were some years ago removed to Woolwich. It is now appropriated as a depository for small arms, packed in chests, and ready for immediate use; and contains, also, a great number of pikes, originally provided in 1804, when, from the vast demand for arms for the equipment of the Sea Fencibles and Volunteer Corps, it was found impossible to supply them with musquets.

Amongst the curiosities on this floor, are two beautiful pieces of Ordnance, mounted on wooden carriages. They were re-cast, as appears by the inscriptions upon them, from some French pieces taken at Cherbourg, in 1758: one of these weighs 54 cwt., the other 52 cwt. There are also two other pieces, the breeches of which represent lions couchant, and near the muzzle of each is an effigy of St. Barbara, to whom they were dedicated: these were taken by Lord Cobham from the walls of Vigo, in 1704.

This apartment likewise contains two curious brass mortars taken at Cherbourg, in 1758;—a machine mounted on a wheel carriage, which throws from thirty small mortars, fired at once by means of a train, as many hand grenadoes;—a brass mortar, capable of

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throwing nine shells at a time, which was used at the grand fire-works in 1748, for ejecting balloons;—a piece of brass ordnance, with three bores, taken by the Duke of Marlborough at the battle of Ramillies;—an immense mortar used by King William the Third, at the siege of Namur;—one of the wooden guns said to have been employed by Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, at the siege of Boulogne, to intimidate the inhabitants;—and ten small cannon presented to King Charles the Second, when a boy, by the brass founders of London. Here is also a fine piece of Ordnance, taken from the French at Acre, in 1799.

In addition to these interesting memorials of British victories, may be enumerated amongst the contents of the store-room, a richly carved and gilt carriage, called "the Drum Major's Chariot of State;" to it are attached kettle-drums, with harness for four horses; a pair of kettle-drums, stated to have been taken from a troop of French Cavalry, during the campaigns of the Duke of Marlborough; and a curious machine called a Lyonnois, from being invented at Lyons, for the defence of a breach.[45]

From the "Train of Artillery," along the area of which, supporting the immense weight above, is a double row of forty-two pillars, based on stone, a spacious stair-case, constructed under the direction of Marshal Beresford, the Master-General of the Ordnance, leads to the first story of the building, sometimes called the *Grand Armoury*, but more usually designated

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[45] For an engraving of the latter instrument, see Grose's Military Antiquities, Vol. ii. pl. iv.

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THE SMALL ARMOURY.

In this magnificent apartment, which is of the same dimensions as the basement story, are deposited upwards of 150,000 stand of arms, fit for immediate service, besides several hundreds which are out of use. They are placed in racks, ranged in longitudinal and transverse rows; and reach from the floor to the ceiling. A tasteful and ornamental cornice is composed of the breast-plates of old armour, pistols, and other weapons. In the spaces between the windows, the arrangements are so complicated as almost to baffle description; no two compartments being alike.

On each side of the door is a representation of the Sun, on the east side, as rising, and on the west, as setting. These are placed in chequered frames of brass-handled hangers, with dog-head pommels, which were used by the marines when serving as regiments. In the middle of the room are four columns, twenty-two feet high, placed at right angles: round these are numerous pistols, and the same species of fire-arms form an oval on the ceiling above them. On a table, within a glass case, in the centre of this part of the armoury, are the sword and sash of the late Duke of York; and opposite, is a *curious Cannon,* taken by the French at Malta, in June, 1798, and brought to this country with the flags which are suspended from the ceiling, by Captain Foote, commander of the *Sea-horse* frigate, who had captured the French Frigate, *La Sensible,* in which it was found. The cannon is made of a mixed metal resembling gold, and on it, represented in bas-relief, is the head of a Grand Master of Malta, supported by two genii. It is also richly ornamented with eagles, &c. of

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very singular design. The carriage on which it is mounted is likewise highly curious: this is of wood, and decorated with carved figures of two furies, one arm of each being entwined together, and grasping a large snake, whilst the other holds a flaming torch. The centre, or nave, of the wheel, represents the Sun, and the spokes, its rays. The date, as appears from the inscription, is 1773.

On each side of this cannon, against the walls, are representations, in carved work, of the Star and Garter, Thistle, Rose, and Crown, ornamented with pistols. To the left of the central window is placed the first musquet made in the Tower, after the establishment of a manufactory for small arms there, in 1804; and to the right of the same window, a silver-mounted gun, from the collection of the late Duke of York, formerly belonging to one of Tippoo Saib's guards.

Amongst the miscellaneous contents of the room may be mentioned the arms taken from Sir William Perkins, Sir John Friend, Charnock, and other persons concerned in the intended assassination of King William the Third, at Turnham Green;—a number of arms taken from the Scotch Rebels in 1715;—two swords, one of *Justice*, the other of *Mercy*, which were carried before the Pretender, when proclaimed in Scotland, in the same year;—halberds, formerly carried by serjeants, so arranged as to form a pair of gates to an arch composed of pistols;—carbines of the old pattern, formerly used by the cavalry, ranged in "flounces and furbelows;"—two carved eagles, richly gilt, holding the rose and crown, surrounded by pistols;—a Medusa's head, commonly called the Witch of Endor, with pistols arranged as snakes around it;—a figure of Jupiter riding in a fiery

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chariot, richly decorated with antient bayonets and six military fans, drawn by eagles, and holding a thunderbolt in his left hand;—and the figure of an Hydra with seven heads, curiously carved and combined by links of pistols and bayonets.

Although the disposition of the fire-arms is so various, it is presumed that the preceding description will convey a general idea of the great ingenuity which has been exercised in this display of skilful arrangement. Until required for use, the arms are kept bright, but when delivered out, they are *browned* for the land service, and *blacked* for the sea service.

The second, or upper story of the Grand Store-house, called the *Tent Room*, was formerly used as a depository for camp equipage, but is now appropriated to the reception of military accoutrements, and stores of various descriptions.

THE HORSE ARMOURY.

If the present collection and display of war accoutrements for the horse soldier, be not the most complete and interesting in Europe, it is at least calculated to gratify curiosity in a high degree, and at the same time to impart useful and correct information to the artist and the antiquary. Previous to the year 1826, nothing could present a more incongruous mass of discordant materials than the Horse Armoury of the Tower of London. Armour of the time of Edward the Sixth, was ignorantly appropriated to that of William the Conqueror: foot soldiers were ranged between the horsemen, and those humble Ciceroni, the warders, ascribed to the various implements of war, names and uses, alike unknown, either in ancient or modern warfare. Dr. S. R. Meyrick, in his

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interesting "Critical Enquiry into Antient Armour," having directed public attention to these facts, was afterwards requested by the government to undertake an entire re-arrangement of the Armoury, and, on his judicious recommendation a new room was built for its reception in the year 1825. The numerous specimens were subsequently arranged, and placed in this collection, in the tasteful and scientific manner in which they are now displayed by Dr. Meyrick, who contributed his assistance *gratuitously*.

The new Horse Armoury, which is situated against the south wall of the White Tower, immediately opposite to the Ordnance Office, was constructed from the designs, and under the superintendence of Mr. Wright, the Clerk of the Works. The interior presents one of the most imposing spectacles that can well be imagined; the numerous equestrian, and other figures, ranged here in chronological order, and accoutred in suits of armour wrought in remote ages, combine to give interest to a scene which is probably unique. This apartment is one hundred and forty-nine feet in length, and thirty-three in width: it is divided longitudinally, into two unequal parts, by a series of pointed arches, raised on a brick floor. In front of the equestrian figures, which stand beneath arches, is a light iron-railing, and above them are suspended crimson banners, whereon are inscribed in letters of gold, the names of the persons to whom each respective suit of armour is assigned, and the supposed or known date of its manufacture. But although, in accordance with previous custom, the names of contemporary owners have been ascribed to the figures bearing the armour; not more than twelve out of the whole number, viz. twenty-two,—can be positively identified.

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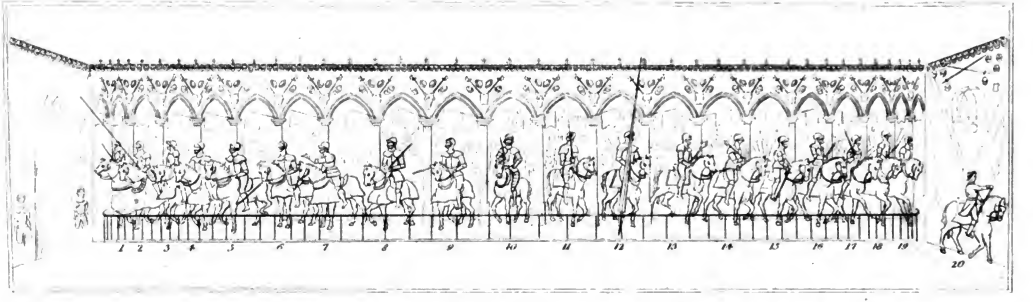
Parralld. Perspective View of the HORSE ARMOURY TOWER. taken from the Centre of the Room.



1. Henry VI. A.D. 1450.
2. Edward IV. A.D. 1465.
3. Henry VII. A.D. 1508.
4. Henry VIII. A.D. 1520.
5. Chas.[s] Brandon D.[k] of Suffolk 1520.
6. Edw.[d] Clinton E. of Lincoln 1535.
7. Edward VI. A.D. 1552.
8. Frā.[s] Hastings E. Huntingdon. 1555.
9. Rob.[t] Dudley E. of Leicester 1560.
10. Sir H.[y] Lee. Mas.[r] of the Armoury. 1590.
11. R.[t] Devereux E. of Essex. 1595.
12. James I. A.D. 1605.
13. Sir Horace Vere. Cap.[n] Gen.[l] 1606.
14. Tho.[s] Howard E. of Arundel. 1608.
15. Henry Prince of Wales 1612.
16. Geo.[e] Villiers D. of Buckingham. 1618.
17. Charles Prince of Wales. 1620.
18. Tho.[s] Wentworth E. of Strafford. 1635.
19. Charles I. A.D. 1640.
20. James II. 1685.

Engraved for Memoirs of the Tower

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Behind the equestrian figures are deposited a number of cannon, of ancient and highly beautiful workmanship; and along the wall, in front, are several pedestrian figures, in the military costume of different ages. On a recessed platform, against the central part of the north wall, are various specimens of the arms, armour, and other accoutrements, of the time of Charles the First. In the vestibules are glass cases filled with interesting, and, in some instances, unique specimens of the offensive and defensive weapons of distant periods, exhibiting on them tasteful works of art. The intervals between the horses are occupied by 21 small cannons, made by order of George III., and presented to the Prince of Wales, on his coming of age.

Our description of the various suits of equestrian armour, will be commenced with that of Edward the First, near the western, or entrance door-way;—but the annexed etching will tend to render the account more intelligible, and convey a better idea of the arrangement and display of this apartment than can be given by any descriptive language.

1272.[46] Edward I., King of England, in the act of sheathing his sword. The hauberk, hood, sleeves, and chausses of the armour, although not actually of this period, have been fabricated from portions of ancient chain mail. On the surcoat, by which the hauberk is partially concealed, and on the shield, are depicted the royal arms.

1450. King Henry VI., in plate armour, of peculiar workmanship; the back and breast-plates being flexible.

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[46] These dates are marked on the banners, as indicative of the presumed age of the armour.

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The sleeves and skirt are of mail; the *sollerets*, or coverings for the feet, are pointed: the gauntlets are tastefully formed and wrought. In the right hand, the figure holds a weapon, formerly shewn in the small armoury, as the *Lochaber-axe*, with which Colonel Gardiner was killed, at the battle of Preston Pans; but in reality it is a general's pole-axe, of German workmanship, and of the same date as the armour. The saddle, which is of bone-work, bearing a German inscription, is particularly curious: the caparisons are of velvet, embroidered with the arms of France and England.

1465. KING EDWARD IV., in an iron-studded tilting suit, consisting of back and breast plate, burgonet helmet, guard for the bridle arm, gauntlets, *jambieres*, or coverings for the legs, and slipper stirrups with ancle guards. The lance is modern, but its vam-plate, of a prior age, is exceedingly curious. The housing of the horse is of black velvet, powdered with the King's badges; namely, the white rose, and the sun.

1508. KING HENRY VII., in a suit of fluted steel, probably of German manufacture, consisting of a burgonet helmet, with open *mentoniere*, or chin piece, and visor; globular breast-plate, with *placate* and back-plate; tasses, or skirts; *garde de reine*; vam-braces, and rear-braces, connected by elbow pieces; *genouillieres*, or armour for the knees, with demi-cuisses affixed; jambieres and sollerets. The horse is accoutred in the *manefaire*, *chanfron* with ear pieces, *poitral* and *croupiere*; war saddle, with burr and cantel, faced with steel.

1509. KING HENRY VIII., in a tilting helmet, with rising beavor and visor; a pouldron for the left shoulder, with shifting pass-guard gorget; breast-plate, with placate; back-plate, vam-brace, and rear-brace, with shifting

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elbow caps; fixed gauntlet for the sword hand, and tilting gauntlet on the bridle hand; tassets, demi-cuisses with genouillieres; jambieres to the ancle, and sollerets. In the right hand, is a *martel de fer*, and, on the left side, an arming sword. This suit is richly inlaid with gold. The horse wears a chanfron, with spiral spike, manefaire, poitral and croupiere, in three pieces. The bow and cantel of the war-saddle are faced with steel, and the stirrups are richly engraved. This is the first of the suits of armour which has been positively identified. The others, of known appropriation, will be marked by asterisks.

1520. CHARLES BRANDON, DUKE OF SUFFOLK,* in plate armour, very similar to that last described.

1535. EDWARD CLINTON, EARL OF LINCOLN, in a richly-gilt suit, formerly shewn as that of King George the Second. This exhibits little variation from the two preceding suits.

1552. KING EDWARD VI., in russet armour, richly embossed and gilt, formerly shewn by the warders as that of Edward the Black Prince. This is an exquisite specimen of art.

1555. FRANCIS HASTINGS, EARL OF HUNTINGDON, in a suit of plate armour, richly gilt, in slashes.

1560. ROBERT DUDLEY, EARL OF LEICESTER.* The armour of this nobleman, as stated by Dr. Meyrick, was formerly kept in the tilt-yard, and there exhibited on particular days. On different parts of it are engraved the initials R. D., the collar of the garter, the figure of Saint Michael, and the Earl's Badge, the ragged staff. It appears to have been originally gilt.

1570. SIR HENRY LEE, Master of the Armouries, and Champion to Queen Elizabeth, in a plain suit, formerly attributed to William the Conqueror.

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1585. Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, in armour richly engraved and inlaid with gold. It was worn by the Champion of England at the Coronation of King George the Second. In the right hand of the figure is a Maltese sword, of curious workmanship.

1605. King James I., in a plain suit, formerly shewn as that of Henry IV. He holds, in a perpendicular direction, a tilting lance, fourteen feet in length, and, in the thickest part, two feet three inches in circumference, used for running at the ring.

1606. Sir Horace Vere, Captain General, holding in his right hand, a small mace.

1608. Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel. This figure, also, is armed with a mace.

1612. Henry, Prince of Wales, son of King James I.* The armour is richly gilt, and engraven with representations of battles, sieges, and other military subjects. A steel mace is suspended from the saddle bow, and a Toledo sword rests on the right stirrup.

1618. George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, in plain armour, formerly shewn as that of Henry the Sixth. The figure is grasping a wheel-lock petronel; the stock of which is of ebony, inlaid with ivory and mother-of-pearl.

1620. Charles, Prince of Wales, when, apparently, about twelve years of age.* The armour is richly engraved and gilt.

1635. Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford. The only peculiarity in this suit is, that it descends no lower than the knees, armour for the legs having been about that time discontinued.

1640. King Charles I.* The armour, which is curiously wrought, and entirely gilt, was presented to him, when Prince of Wales, by the City of London.

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1685. KING JAMES II. His dress consists of a drab coloured coat, with covered buttons and silver lace, which partially covers a waistcoat of bright blue velvet. His only defensive armour is a cuirass, a long gauntlet, and a helmet, the grating of which, represents the royal arms, and also bears the letters, I. R. II. The saddle, holsters, &c. are of velvet, richly embroidered with gold lace; the pistols, which the latter contain, are curiously inlaid with silver and ivory. This figure stands in advance of the platform, against the eastern wall.

In the centre of the recess, or vestibule ceiling, at this end of the room, is inscribed, in golden letters, the word "Waterloo," environed by bayonets; the other parts of the ceiling are covered with cuirasses, worn by the French in that ever-memorable field. This recess contains the figure of a horse, caparisoned with a Turkish saddle, bridle, and breast-plate; the former is of crimson velvet, richly embroidered: these were brought from Grand Cairo, and formed part of the collection of the late Duke of York. Here also are two glass cases, containing, amongst many other curious articles, two cross-bows, with their windlasses, of the time of Henry the Eighth; a Florentine dagger and poignard of Elizabeth's age; and a weapon resembling a small battle-axe, but containing six pistol barrels, with a wheel-lock, a match-lock, &c. This was, probably, manufactured in the reign of James the First. Various specimens of carbines, musquets, fowling-pieces, pistols, &c., of the respective ages of James the First, Charles the First, and William the Third, are likewise preserved here.

Ranged on pedestals, along the south wall of the room, are several figures arrayed, as already mentioned, in the military costume of former times. The first is

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A Pikeman of the Reign of Charles I. in brown armour studded with brass nails. The tassets, or flaps which cover the thighs, are of the same material as the body armour, to which they are attached by hinges.

An Archer of the year 1590. This figure is attired in a brigandine jacket, or doublet, containing pieces of iron, and curiously quilted; sleeves and skirts of green; long hose, and square-toed shoes. In the right hand is a bow, and on the same side, a quiver of arrows.

Near the middle of the south wall, on each side of a recess, is placed a suit of armour, made for Henry the Eighth. The first, dated 1509,* is rough from the hammer, and is considered to be one of the most complete specimens in the collection. The other bears the date of 1512,* and was made for combats, on foot.

Within the recess, is an equestrian figure of KING HENRY THE EIGHTH,* in a very curious suit of armour, which was presented to that monarch, by the Emperor Maximilian the First, on Henry's marriage with Katharine of Arragon, in the year 1509. This is the most splendid and highly finished suit in the whole collection: it is washed with silver, and profusely covered with engravings, representing the legends of divers saints, interspersed with the King's badges, and various other devices. Dr. Meyrick, in 1827, communicated to the Society of Antiquaries a very particular description of this suit, which was published in the "Archæologia," Vol. xxii. and illustrated by many prints.

On the walls and ceiling of this recess, are numerous specimens of the arms and armour of Henry the Eighth's time; and on each side, within a niche, is a small figure accoutred in the armour, known to have been worn by the Prince to whom it is assigned: the first is *Henry, Prince*

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of Wales, dated 1604;* the second, *Charles, Prince of Wales,* (afterward Charles I.) dated 1636.* Over the equestrian figure of Henry VIII., is the following inscription, commemorative of the recent arrangement of this armoury.

GEORGIO IV. OPT. MAX. REGNANTE.
ARTHURE DUCE WELLINGTON
ORDINATIONUM MAGISTRO.
HAS PRINCIPUM NOBILIUMQUE
LORICAS
HISTORICE/ INSTITUIT.

A.D. 1826. *S. R. Meyrick, LL.D.*

The next objects of attraction, are figures of a *Foot soldier,* of 1540, in dark coloured armour; and (beyond him) a *Swordsman,* of 1506, in half armour, with a puckered velvet skirt.

The ceiling of the entrance recess, or vestibule, is decorated in a similar manner to that before described. Here, also, are glass cases, which, amongst other curiosities, and specimens of the weapons and war equipments of former days, contain a cross-bow and a stirrup of the time of Henry V., parts of a jazarine jacket, and the helmet of Will Somers, the fool, or jester of Henry VIII.

In the rear of the equestrian figures, raised about four feet from the floor, and occupying nearly three-fourths of the entire length of the building, is a recessed platform, upon which is exhibited an extensive assortment of the armour, pikes, accoutrements, ensigns, &c. of the adherents to the royal cause in the time of *Charles the First.* The central portion is occupied by a body of Pikemen, to the right and left of which, are ranged Curassiers, and nearer the extremities, Cavaliers, in complete armour, bearing lances. The back-ground is composed of banners, trumpets, and weapons of various kinds. On pedestals, near the ends of the recess, are

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figures of a *Man at Arms*, of the year 1530, and a *Demi-Lancer*, of the year 1555.

Under this recess, and along the whole length of the wall, in which it is formed, are ranged, in chronological order, various specimens of *Ordnance*. The first, and most antient piece, which is ascribed to the reign of Henry the Sixth, is a long rudely-formed gun, encircled with iron hoops. The next is a large brass cannon of the time of Henry the Seventh, ornamented with the royal arms, the portcullis, and fleur-de-lis. Succeeding to the latter, is the largest piece of ordnance in the collection; it weighs upwards of five tons, and is ornamented with the rose and garter, surmounted by the crown of France; its date is 1542. Two small guns, the first containing seven barrels, the second, three, with grooves instead of touch-holes, range next in order: and after these, follow very curious specimens of cannon of the respective reigns of King Edward the Sixth, Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth.

A richly-carved cannon, manufactured in 1608, for Henry, eldest son of James the First; and another, cast in 1621, for Charles, Prince of Wales, are the next in succession. The latter is embellished with representations of Hercules' club, the Lion's skin, an eagle in the clouds, &c., all most tastefully executed. The remaining specimens are, a well finished piece, dated 1676, and a French cannon of the time of James the Second, having two barrels, abreast, and one above. Suspended from the wall, at the end of the line of ordnance, are two *Pavoises*, or long shields of the reign of James the First; and over the window, above them, a couple of antient broad swords.

Several articles in this collection are marked (P.):

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these were brought from the central depôt, and the museum of artillery, at Paris, on the capture of that city by the Allied Powers, in 1814.[47]

THE SPANISH ARMOURY,

Which was rebuilt a few years ago, stands nearly opposite to the south-western angle of the White Tower. It derives its name from being the *reputed* place of deposit of the spoils, taken from the Spaniards on the defeat of the *Invincible Armada*, in 1588; but with the exception of the "collar of torture," there is reason to believe that every article assigned to that era and event, in this collection, is really English; of which opinion also, is that eminent connoisseur in the chronology of arms and armour, Dr. Meyrick. That gentleman, speaking of a "Survey of the Military Stores at Greenwich," made in the reign of Charles the Second, says;—"We learn from this Survey, that the armour now in the Tower, came from Greenwich and other places; and, as in the statement, no mention is made of the *Spanish Armoury*, we may fairly conclude that it did not then exist. The targets with pistols in them, were in the Tower in the reign of Edward the Sixth, and therefore could not, as

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47 A most interesting account of the French capital, at that time, is contained in a recently-published volume, intituled "Memorable Events in Paris," in the year 1814. It was written by *T. R. Underwood, Esq.*, an English gentleman and artist, who was one of Buonaparte's *detenûs*, but, from peculiar circumtances, had been permitted to remain in Paris from his arrest till the surrender of that city to the allied army. On that memorable occasion, he wrote accounts of all the leading, remarkable, and appalling circumstances which took place. Buonaparte's flight to, residence at, and return from Elba, are also circumstantially narrated in the same work, from the credible sources.

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said, have belonged to the Armada. The pikes in it, were common to the English soldiery as well as to the Spaniards; and the glaives, bills, halbards, pertuisans, &c. which principally compose this collection, were used in England in the reign of Henry the Eighth.—It is probable, that the remainder was furnished from the stores in the Tower."[48]

Under these circumstances, the great absurdity of still calling this collection the *Spanish* Armoury, (an appellation which first occurs in an item "for mending the windows," in the Tower expenses of the reign of Charles II., anno 1675,) has recently engaged the attention of the Board of Ordnance, and there is a strong probability that it will very soon receive a more appropriate name, that of *Queen Elizabeth's* Armoury;—the *ancient weapons* and *armour* preserved here, being mostly of the time of that Princess, or of reigns immediately antecedent.

This Armoury has been newly arranged, and its contents are disposed with much taste as well as ingenuity. The room, in its longitudinal direction, is separated into three divisions, by two rows of columns, (five columns in each row,) formed principally of musket barrels, reaching from the floor to the ceiling. Between the columns, in different places, are stands of pikes, boar-spears, &c. and along the sides and lower end of the apartment, numerous arms and warlike objects of curiosity are arranged in devices: the ceiling, also, is almost entirely covered with weapons similarly disposed, but

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[48] Meyrick's "Critical Enquiry into Antient Armour:" Vol. iii. p. 132.—"There was a sale, by lottery, of a quantity of foreign armour, in the 29th year of Elizabeth's reign, which was probably that of the *Armada*, and thus sold to produce a part of the prize-money due to the captors."

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so placed as to form a centrical termination over each division. Palm-trees, composed of sword blades, decorate the entrance.

At the upper extremity of the armoury is a recessed tent, enclosed with purple hangings; on each side of the opening of which, is an oblique surface, decorated with a representation of the Sun in meridian splendour. The extreme rays are formed by ram-rods of bright steel; the effulgence, by rich gilding, within which, on one side, the names of DRAKE, HAWKINS, and FROBISHER, are inscribed; and on the other, HOWARD OF EFFINGHAM:—the brave and skilful admirals, whose conduct so highly contributed to the defeat of the Spanish Armada. Within the tent is a spirited figure of QUEEN ELIZABETH, seated on a cream-coloured horse, held by a page, in the supposed act of addressing her assembled troops, at Tilbury. This princess was formerly represented as standing near the entrance of the tent, and partly vested with armour; but, of late years, both her attitude and dress have been altered, and she is now arrayed in imitation of the splendid habiliments in which she rode to St. Paul's, to return praise and thanksgiving to the Almighty for her deliverance from Spanish thraldom.

Of the articles which have been hitherto shewn as Spanish spoils, the *Invincible Banner,* as it was called, is nothing more than the leathern covering of a *Pavois,* (or shield,) of an oval form, on the middle part of which was placed a small figure of our Saviour on the Cross, depicted upon thin card, or pasteboard.—The brazen *Shield,* said to have been carried before the Spanish general, as an ensign of honour, is of a circular form, curiously enbossed with the labours of Hercules, in four divisions, and has a Latin inscription over each, in

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roman characters: there is also the date 1379, but it is dubious whether the figure 3 was not originally 5, and the real date 1579. The style of the workmanship, and the English rose, engraven round the opening, strongly implies home manufacture.

The Spanish general's *Staff* is, in reality, a partizan, and has on it the arms of Sir Dudley Carleton, viz. on a bend, three mascles.—From these instances, the absurdities and falsehood which have been propagated, by means of this collection, may be readily magined.

Among the weapons enumerated as Spanish, but not one of which can be truly assigned to that nation, are spears, lances, spadas, or long swords, ranceurs, boarding and other pikes, some of them eighteen feet in length, halberts, musketoons, battle-axes, &c. together with four kinds of shot, viz. spike-shot, star-shot, chain-shot, and link-shot. The instruments of torture exhibited, are the *cravat*, or engine for locking together the head, hands, and feet; the *bilboe*, or yoke, and the *thumb-screws*. The *cravat* was used in the Tower *before* the attempted invasion by the Armada, and was then called "*Scavenger's Daughter*."

Numerous other objects of curiosity, and instruments used in ancient and modern warfare, are stored in this armoury; viz. demi-lances, glaives, bills, halberts, &c. of Henry the Eighth's time; a piece containing three match-lock pistols, with a small dagger, or bayonet, between the barrels, absurdly called King Henry the Eighth's *walking staff*, but in reality an "holly water sprinkle;" ball-proof shields, having a pistol fixed in the centre, with a small grate above it to take aim through; a boarding-axe and other weapons, brought from Copenhagen; and an Indian suit of armour, sent as a present from the Great Mogul, to Charles the Second.

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The Jewel Tower.

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Here, likewise, is an ancient *Axe*, which, according to tradition, was that with which Queen Anne Boleyn,[49] Lady Jane Grey, and the Earl of Essex, were beheaded.

THE JEWEL TOWER,

Which, in 1641, was designated "the Martin Tower, over against the Green Mount," and described as a 'prison-lodging,'[50] was first appropriated to the reception of the Regalia and other Jewels belonging to the crown, soon after the Restoration; but they had been previously kept in a small building, termed the "*Juell Howse*," near the southern side of the White Tower. The crown jewels appear to have been deposited in the Tower as early as the reign of Henry the Third; for, on the return of that monarch from France, in 1230, the Bishop of Carlisle was commanded to replace the jewels in this fortress.[51] Towards the latter end of the same reign, the royal plate and jewels were pawned to some French merchants, for raising money to carry on the war against the insurgent barons; but having been redeemed, in 1272, they were re-lodged in the Tower.[52]

Edward the Third, in 1327, was also compelled to pledge his crown and jewels, for the payment of his followers in the Scotch wars.[53] About ten years afterwards, he conferred the office of Keeper of his Jewels and armouries in the Tower, with a daily stipend of twelve-

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[49] Stow, speaking of the execution of this unfortunate Queen, says, "the hangman of Calais smote off her head at one stroke with a *sword*."—Vide Stow's Chronicle, p. 965; edit. 1600.

[50] Harleian MS. Brit. Mus. No. 1326.

[51] Bayley's Hist. of the Tower, Vol. i. p. 182. [52] Ibid. p. 184.

[53] Fœdera, new edit. Vol. ii. Pt. ii. p. 713.

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pence, on John de Flete.[54] De Flete died in 1344; and, three years after, Robert de Mildenhall, the then Keeper, was commanded to deliver to William de Lamhuthe, to be conveyed to Calais, where the King then was, "two chests containing divers ornaments pertaining to the Chapel Royal."[55]

Richard the Second, Henry the Fifth, and Henry the Sixth, were, upon various occasions, reduced to the necessity of pawning their jewels: a highly-curious list of the articles so pledged by the last-mentioned monarch, has been printed in Bayley's History of this Fortress, to which the reader is referred.[56] Under King Henry the Eighth, the office of Keeper of the Jewels in the Tower, was held by the celebrated Thomas Cromwell, afterwards Earl of Essex.[57] His salary was only fifty pounds yearly; but his perquisites were considerable, as, besides having the care of the regalia, he was entrusted with the purchasing and custody of all the royal plate, and the appointment of the King and Queen's jewellers and goldsmiths.[58]

In Queen Elizabeth's reign, the "Master of the *Juel-house*" was allowed £50. The fee of the Yeoman was £6. 13s. 4d., and that of the Groom, £2. 13s. 4d.[59]

In March, 1604, 2nd of James I., a descriptive inventory of the Crown Jewels was made under the authority of a warrant of privy seal; the original of which, signed at the beginning and the end with the King's own hand,

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[54] Rot. Orig. 12 Edw. III. r. 25.

[55] Ibid. 18 Edw. III. r. 13, and 21 Edw. III. r. 38.

[56] Bayley's History of the Tower, Vol. i. pp. 184—187.

[57] Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. ii. p. 373.

[58] Harleian MS. Brit. Mus. No. 1843.

[59] Peck's Desiderata Curiosa, Vol. i. p. 59.

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is preserved among the records in the Chapter-house, at Westminster. From that document, as printed by Mr. Bayley, and intituled, "A booke conteyninge the remayne of all suche jewells and other p^rcells as are remayninge in the kinges ma^tie secrete Jewel-house w^thin the Tower, &c." the following particulars are derived:—

The *Imperial Crown*, which is the first-mentioned article, is thus described:—"A crowne imperyall of golde sett about the nether border w^t ix^en greate pointed dyamondes, and betwene everye dyamonde a knott of perle, sett by fyve perles in a knott, in the upper border eight rocke rubies and xx^tie rounde perles, the fower arches being sett eche of them w^th a table dyamonde, a table rubye, an emeralde, and uppon twoe of the arches xviij^en perles and uppon the other twoe arches xvij^en perles, and betwene everye arche a greate ballace sett in a collett of golde, and uppon the topp a verye greate ballace perced, and a lytle crosse of golde upon the top enamelled blewe." A "*coronett of golde*, sett with sapphirs, ballaces, diamonds, pearls, &c." is next described; and, after that, "*a circlett of golde*, sette w^th a greate ballace rubye, viij. table dyamondes, ix^en. emeraldes, xxxvj. rocke rubies, and lvj. rounde perles." Then follow:—"one circlett, newe made for the quene, conteyninge in the myddest viij fayre dyamondes of dyverse fashions, viij fayre rubies, viij. emeraldes, and viij. saphyrs, garnished w^th xxxij smalle dyamondes, xxxij. small rubies, and lxiiij^or. p'les fixed, and on eche border xxxij. small dyamondes, and xxxij. small rubyes."

There are also enumerated fifteen golden collars, all of different workmanship, and adorned with precious stones;—a great variety of rings, broaches, and buttons, the latter chiefly of gold set with diamonds and pearls;

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a number of minor pieces of jewellery, and among them, "a lardge agatt, graven w^th^ the picture of kinge Henrye the viij^th^, and kinge Edwarde the vj^th^;" and "a greate and ryche jewell of golde called the *myrror of Greate Brytaigne*, conteyning one verye fayre table dyamonde, one verye fayre table rubye, twoe other lardge dyamondes cut lozenge-wise th'one of them called the stone of the l're H. of Scottlande, garnished w^th^ small dyamondes twoe rounde perles fixed, and one fayre dyamonde cut in fawcetts, bought of Sauncy." Besides these, the Jewel House contained various miscellaneous articles, such as golden flowers and feathers, set with diamonds, rubies, &c. "dyverse antiquities in a purse of blacke velvett," a great two-handed sword, garnished with silver and gilt, and numerous ornaments which had been given by his majesty to the Queen. Amongst the latter, the most curious was, "a fayre tablett w^th^ a crosse of xxiij. dyamondes on the one syde and a worde conteyninge sixtene l'res of dyamondes, *Dieu et mon droyt*, w^th^ a lytle knobb pendaunte, therein two little table dyamondes and twoe rubyes, w^th^ a *clocke* in it."

A letter from Mr. Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville, dated May 16th, 1623, states, that, "there be jewels gone from the Tower to Spain of £600,000" value.[60] This must have been at the time when Prince Charles made his quixotic expedition into that country, to court the Infanta.

During the Interregnum, the emoluments attached to the keeping of the regalia were enjoyed by Sir Henry Mildmay; but on his attainder, soon after the restoration of Charles the Second, the office was conferred upon Sir Gilbert Talbot; when, at the instance of the Lord Chan-

[60] Ellis's Original Letters, 1st Series, Vol. iii. p. 151.

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cellor Hyde,[61] many of the perquisites were either abolished, or came into other hands. Notwithstanding those deductions, the pecuniary advantages, in the same reign, amounted to £1300 annually.[62] Since that period, all the duties and perquisites attached to the custody of the regalia, have been either abolished, or have merged into the office of the Lord Chamberlain.

Shortly after the appointment of Sir Gilbert Talbot, and in consequence of the above-mentioned reduction in the official perquisites, the *Regalia* in the Tower was first allowed to be inspected by the public, generally. The daring attempt, made by the ruffian *Blood* to take advantage of that permission, by *stealing the Crown*, is one of the most extraordinary incidents that ever happened within these walls;—and, although the circumstances connected with this desperate attempt have been frequently detailed, no account of the Tower can be deemed complete without again briefly reciting them.

After Sir G. Talbot had been appointed Master of the Jewel House, he assigned the profits which arose from exhibiting the regalia to an old confidential servant of his father, named Talbot Edwards, who was still keeper at the time of the concerted robbery.

About three weeks prior to his attempt, Blood, a disbanded officer of the Protectorate, went to the Tower in the habit of a parson, "with a long cloak, cassock, and canonical girdle," accompanied by a woman whom he called his wife;—his real wife being then in Lancashire. The lady requested to see the crown, and her wish having been gratified, she feigned "a qualm upon her stomach,"

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[61] Harleian MS. Brit. Mus. No. 1843: vide Bayley's Hist. of the Tower, Vol. i. p. 196.

[62] Ibid.

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and Mrs. Edwards, after giving her some spirits at her husband's request, courteously invited her to repose herself upon a bed. She soon recovered; and, "at their departure, they seemed very thankful for this civility."

After an interval of a few days, Blood returned, and gave Mrs. Edwards four pair of white gloves, as a present from his pretended wife. At a subsequent visit he told her, that his wife "could discourse of nothing but the kindness of those good people of the Tower;" and that "she had long studied, and at last bethought her, of a handsome way of requital."

"You have," quoth he, "a pretty gentlewoman to your daughter, and I have a young nephew, who hath two or three hundred a year in land, and is at my disposal. If your daughter be free, and you approve it, I will bring him here to see her, and we will endeavour to make it a match." This was readily assented to by old Mr. Edwards, who invited the disguised ruffian to dine with him on that day: the invitation was willingly accepted, and Blood, "taking upon him to say grace," performed it with great seeming devotion, concluding his "long-winded" oration with a prayer for the king, queen, and royal family.

After dinner, "he went up to see the rooms, and seeing a handsome case of pistols hang there, expressed a great desire to buy them to present to a young Lord who was his neighbour;" but this was merely a pretence, by which he thought to "disarm the house," and thus execute his design with less danger. At his departure, "which was with a canonical benediction of the good company," he appointed a day and hour for introducing his young nephew to his future bride; and, as he wished, he said, "to bring two friends with him, to see the

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regalia, who were to leave town early on that morning," the hour was fixed at about seven o'clock.

On the appointed morning, (viz. May the 9th, 1671,[63]) " the old man had got up ready to receive his guest, and the daughter had put herself into her best dress to entertain her gallant, when, behold, parson Blood, with three more, came to the Jewel House, all armed with rapier blades in their canes, and every one a dagger, and a pair of pocket pistols. Two of his companions entered in with him, and a third stayed at the door, it seems, for a watch."

Blood told Mr. Edwards, that they would not go up stairs until his wife came, and desired him to shew his friends the crown to pass the time till then. This was complied with; but no sooner had they entered the room where the crown was kept, and the door, as usual, been shut, than " they threw a cloak over the old man's head, and clapt a gag into his mouth, which was a great plug of wood, with a small hole in the middle to take breath at; this was tyed with a waxed leather, which went round his neck. At the same time they fastened an iron hook to his nose, that no sound might pass from him that way either."

Thus secured, they told him, " that their resolution was to have the crown, globe, and sceptre; and, if he would quietly submit to it, they would spare his life, otherwise he was to expect no mercy." Notwithstanding this threat, " he forced himself to make all the noise that pos-

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[63] That the above date is accurate, is proved by the official account of Blood's attempt in the " London Gazette;" although Strype, and other writers, have assigned this transaction to the year 1673.

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sibly he could, to be heard above": they then "knocked him down with a wooden mallet, and told him, that if yet he would lie quiet, they would spare his life, but if not, upon his next attempt to discover them, they would kill him, and pointed three daggers at his breast." Mr. Edwards, however, by his own account, was not yet intimidated, but "strained himself to make the greater noise." In consequence, they gave him "nine or ten strokes more upon the head with the mallet, (for so many bruises were found upon the skull,) and stabbed him into the belly." This ferocious treatment occasioned the old man, "now almost eighty years of age," to swoon; and he lay some time in so senseless a condition, that one of the miscreants said, "he is dead, I'll warrant him." Edwards, who had come a little to himself, heard his words, and conceiving it best to be thought so, "lay quietly."

The rich prize was now within the villains' grasp, and one of them, named Parrot, "put the globe [orb] into his breeches; Blood held the crown under his cloak," and the third was proceeding to file the sceptre in two, in order that it might be put into a bag, "because too long to carry," when their proceedings were interrupted by the unexpected arrival of a son of Mr. Edwards, from Flanders, who, having first spoken to the person who stood on the watch at the door, went up stairs to salute his relations. Seizing the opportunity, the ruffians instantly "hasted away" with the crown and orb, leaving the sceptre unfiled.

The old keeper now raised himself, and freeing his mouth from the gag, cried "*Treason! Murder!*" which being heard by his daughter, she rushed out of doors and reiterated the cry, with the addition, "*the Crown is stolen!*" The alarm being thus given, young Edwards

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and Captain Beckman, his brother-in-law, pursued the robbers, who were advanced beyond the main guard, [at the White Tower,] and were hastening towards the draw-bridge. Here the Warder "put himself in posture to stop them;" but, on Blood firing a pistol at him, he fell, although unhurt, and the thieves "got safe to the little Ward-house Gate, where one Sill, who had been a soldier under Cromwell, stood centinel;" but he offering no opposition, "they passed over the draw-bridge, and through the outward gate upon the wharf." Horses were stationed for them "at St. Katharine's Gate, called the *Iron Gate*," and, as they ran that way, they raised the cry of "*Stop the rogues!*" by which device they proceeded, unopposed, until overtaken by Captain Beckman, at whose head Blood discharged his second pistol; but the Captain avoided the shot by stooping down, and immediately seized the ruffian. The crown was still beneath his cloak; and, although every chance of escape was now over, he struggled vigorously to retain his prey; and when it was wrested from him, said, "*It was a gallant attempt, howsoever unsuccessful; for it was for a Crown!*"

In this "robustious struggle" a large pearl, a fair diamond, and a number of smaller stones, were bulged from the crown; but both the former, and several of the latter, were subsequently "picked up," and restored: the ballas ruby, which had been broken off the sceptre, was found in Parrot's pocket, so that nothing of considerable value was eventually lost.[64] Parrot (who had been a

[64] In the account of this transaction given in the London Gazette (which was partly written before Hunt and his two companions had been seized) is this passage:—"With the two that were

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silk-dyer in Thames Street, and afterwards a lieutenant in the Parliament's service) was stopped by a servant; and Hunt, Blood's son-in-law, who had been waiting with the horses, was soon afterwards seized, together with two others of the party.

The attempted robbery was immediately made known to the King, who commanded that the two persons first seized, and who had been lodged in the White Tower, should be examined in his own presence, at Whitehall: —this circumstance is supposed to have saved them from the gallows.

During his examination, Blood behaved with the most unblushing effrontery. He not only acknowledged having been the leader in an atrocious attempt upon the life of the Duke of Ormond, (whom he had intended to hang at Tyburn,) but also avowed that he had been engaged to kill his Majesty himself, with a carbine, from among the reeds, "by the Thames' side, above Battersea, where he often went to swim;" that the cause of this resolution, in himself and others, was, "his Majesty's severity over the consciences of the godly, in suppressing the freedom of their religious assemblies," but that, "when he had taken his stand among the reeds for that purpose, *his heart was checked by an awe of Majesty*;" which made him not only to relent himself, but likewise to divert his associates from their design.

When further questioned, as to those associates, he replied, that "he would never betray a friend's life, nor ever deny a guilt in defence of his own." At the same

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taken were found the crown and ball, only some few stones missing, which had been loosened by the beating of the crown together with the mallet, or beetle, spoken off."

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time, he told the King, that he knew these confessions had laid him open to the utmost rigour of the law; but that there were hundreds of his friends, yet undiscovered, who were all bound "by the indispensable oaths of conspirators, to revenge each other's death upon those who should bring them to justice;" which "would expose his Majesty, and all his ministers, to the daily fear and expectation of a massacre. But, on the other side, if his Majesty would spare the lives of a few, he might oblige the hearts of many; who, as they had been seen to do daring mischief, would be as bold, if received into pardon and favour, to perform eminent services for the crown."

After this examination, Blood and his accomplices were remanded to the Tower, there to be kept as close prisoners; but, to the surprise of the nation, they were all subsequently pardoned and released. Blood himself had landed property granted to him, in Ireland, to the amount of £500 per annum; and was likewise admitted into "all the privacy and intimacy of the court," in which he industriously employed his influence, and became a most "successful sollicitor" in others' behalf; but "many gentlemen courted his acquaintance as the *Indians* pray to the Devils, that they may not hurt them."

When it had been determined to pardon Blood, who, both by his own confession, and on strong evidence, was guilty of the attempt upon the Duke of Ormond's life, Lord Arlington was sent to inform his grace, that it was his Majesty's pleasure that Blood should not be prosecuted "for reasons" which he (his lordship) was "commanded to give him;" but the Duke interrupted him with the shrewd remark, that "his Majesty's *command*

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was the only reason that could be given, and therefore he might spare the rest."

Whilst the principal ruffian was thus favoured, old Edwards, after much intercession, could obtain only a grant on the Exchequer of £200, for himself, and £100, for his son; but the payment, even of these sums, was so long delayed, and the expense of curing the old man's wounds so considerable, that they were obliged to sell their orders for half the amount in ready money.[65]

In the latter part of his life, Blood appears to have professed quakerism: he died on the 29th of August, 1680. Some years ago, there was an old mansion at the corner of Peter and Tufton Streets, Westminster, which he is traditionally said to have inhabited, after his daring exploit in the Tower had raised him to the dignity of a court pensioner.

THE JEWEL TOWER is situated at the north-east angle of the inner ward; the approach to it, as represented in the annexed print, is by a flight of steps. The lowest and most ancient part of this Tower, which forms a large portion of a circle, is of stone, but the upper

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[65] The above account of Blood's attempt to steal the crown, has been principally derived from Strype's edition of Stow's "Survey of London," (Vol. i. pp. 92—96, edit. 1720), and all the passages distinguished by inverted commas are in his own words. Strype states, that he had "this relation from the favour of Mr. Edwards himself, the late Keeper of the Regalia;" meaning, probably, the "young Edwards" mentioned in the narrative. The venerable Talbot Edwards, who so narrowly escaped assassination, was buried in the Tower Chapel, 1674; and on his grave stone is this inscription:—"Here lieth ye body of Talbot Edwards, Gent. late Keeper of his Maᵗʸˢ Regalia, who dyed ye 30th of September, 1674, aged 80 years and 9 moneths."

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portion is, comparatively, of modern brick-work. The *roof* of the ground floor is groined and vaulted; and near the entrance, on the left, is a small cell, constructed within the thickness of the wall. On this floor the jewels are kept; the upper apartments are appropriated to the use of the person who shews the Regalia.

The arrangements of the *Jewel-Room* have been altered within these few years. A greater space has been allotted for the accommodation of visitors, and a lighter railing has been substituted for the cumbrous iron-work which formerly inclosed the *Regalia;* the lustre of which, when the curtain, which is pendant before them, is withdrawn, is displayed by the light of six argand lamps. The following description of the principal articles exhibited, may not be unacceptable to our readers: the jewels are chiefly arranged on shelves, as in a large beaufet, or closet.

The *New Imperial Crown*, which was made for the coronation of his present Majesty, George the Fourth, is placed within a bell glass, upon a stand, which is made to revolve, so that the crown can be fully viewed. This most exuberant specimen of rich jewellery has been thus accurately described:—"It is about fifteen inches in height, and the arches, which rise almost to a point, instead of the inelegant flatness of the former crown, are surmounted with an orb of brilliants, seven inches in circumference. Upon this is placed a Maltese cross of brilliants, set transparently, with three pearls at its extremities, of remarkable size and beauty. The arches are wreathed and fringed with diamonds. Four Maltese crosses, formed of brilliants also, surround the crown, with four large diamond flowers in their intervening spaces. In the centre of the back cross, is the

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antient ruby, which was worn at Cressy, and Azincour, by the Black Prince, and Henry the Fifth, whilst that of the front cross is adorned with *an unique sapphire* of the purest and deepest azure, more than two inches long, and one inch broad. The ermine is surmounted with a band of large diamonds, emeralds, sapphires, and rubies, and immediately under these is a fillet of beautiful pearls. The cap is of dark crimson velvet. The estimated worth of the crown is £150,000, and the expenses upon it, preparatory to the coronation, amounted to about £50,000, or £60,000, over and above the addition of the inestimable sapphire."[66]

The *Orb*, which is borne in the King's right hand at his coronation, and in his left, on returning to Westminster-hall, is a ball of gold, six inches in diameter, banded with a fillet of the same metal, edged with pearls, and embellished with precious stones, surrounded by roses of diamonds. A large amethyst, on the top, forms the base, or pedestal, of a golden cross, richly set with diamonds and other valuable jewels.

St. Edward's Crown was made for the coronation of Charles the Second, but was thus designated in memorial of an ancient crown, which is said to have been worn by King Edward the Confessor, and was sold during the civil wars. This is formed by a circlet, or rim of gold, from which rise two bowed arches, crossing each other, surmounted by a mound and cross of the same metal. A golden band, or fillet, garnished with precious stones, encircles the mound, and the cross is embellished with three very large oval pearls; one at

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[66] Monthly Magazine, for May, 1821.

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the top, and the others pendant from the ends. There are, also, four crosses, and as many fleurs-de-lis, of gold, between the arches, richly adorned. The whole is superbly embellished with pearls, diamonds, emeralds, rubies, and sapphires. The cap is of purple velvet, lined with taffeta, and turned up with ermine.

The *Queen's Crown*, being that used at coronations, is of gold, set with diamonds, of great value, intermixed with pearls and other precious stones. The cap is of purple velvet, lined with white taffeta, and faced with ermine.

The *Queen's Diadem*, or *Circlet* of gold, was made for the coronation of Mary D'Este, consort of James the Second;—at the expense, according to Sandford, of £111,000. This is richly adorned with large diamonds, curiously set, and the upper edge of the circlet is bordered with a string of pearls.

The *Queen's Rich Crown*, which is worn on returning from the coronation, is most profusely ornamented with diamonds and pearls; and, like the other imperial crowns, consists of a rim, or circlet, of gold, supporting bowed arches, with intervening crosses and fleurs-de-lis, richly set.

The *Queen's Orb* is somewhat smaller than that of the King, but is composed of similar materials and splendid ornaments.

The *King's Sceptre*, with the *Dove*, is a staff of gold, three feet seven inches in length, and about one inch in diameter. This is set with diamonds and other stones; and at the top is a mound, banded with rose diamonds, and surmounted by a small cross, sustaining a Dove, with expanded wings, as an emblem of mercy.

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The *King's Sceptre* with the *Cross*, or *Sceptre Royal*, is likewise of gold, and in length two feet nine inches. The staff itself is plain, but its pommel is ornamented with rubies, emeralds, and small diamonds. The ancient fleurs-de-lis, with which this sceptre was formerly adorned, have been replaced by golden leaves, bearing the rose, the shamrock, and the thistle. The cross is covered with jewels of various kinds, and has in the centre a large table diamond.

The *Queen's Sceptre*, with the *Cross*, is somewhat smaller than the former, but of rich workmanship, and highly ornamented with precious stones.

The *Queen's Ivory Sceptre*, made for Mary D'Este, James the Second's consort, is mounted with gold, and has, at the top, a golden cross, bearing a dove, of white onyx. This, but without the least authority, is shewn as the sceptre of Anne Boleyn.

There is another *Sceptre*, elegantly wrought and adorned, which Mr. Bayley conceives to have been made for Queen Mary, the consort of William the Third; as it nearly assimilates to the King's Sceptre with the dove. This was discovered behind a part of the old wainscotting, in 1814.

St. Edward's Staff is of beaten gold, four feet seven inches in length, and three quarters of an inch in diameter: at the bottom is a steel spike, and at the top, a mound and a cross. This is carried before the King at his coronation.

The *Armillæ*, or coronation bracelets, are of gold, chased with the rose, fleur-de-lis, and harp, and edged with pearls. They were re-enamelled previous to the coronation of his present Majesty.

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The *Royal Spurs* of gold, curiously wrought, are carried, in the coronation procession, by the representative of the Earls of Hastings.

The *Curtana*, or Sword of Mercy, with the two *Swords of Justice*, viz. temporal and ecclesiastical, are of plain steel, gilded, and are preserved in velvet scabbards mounted with gold and richly embroidered.

The *Ampulla*, which is an antique vessel, of pure gold, used for containing the holy oil at coronations, resembles an Eagle with expanded wings, standing upon a pedestal. The head unscrews; the beak serves as a spout for pouring the oil into the *Anointing Spoon*, which is also of pure gold, and of a like antiquity: four pearls are set in the broad part of the handle of the spoon.

The *Saltseller of State*, (which is called a model of the White Tower, but has scarcely any other resemblance, than from the body of it being castellated, and of a square form,) was used on the King's table at the late coronation. It is of gold, richly adorned with jewellery; and ornamented at its base with cannon, serpents, and grotesque figures. This, like the new crown, is placed beneath a bell glass, and is made to revolve.

Besides the above, there are twelve other *Golden Saltsellers*, of rich workmanship; two massive *Tankards* of the same metal; the baptismal *Font*, used at christenings of the royal progeny, of silver, double gilt, and upwards of four feet high; a large silver *Fountain*, presented by the Corporation of Plymouth to King Charles the Second; and a superbly-wrought service of *Sacramental plate*, belonging to the Tower Chapel, of silver, double gilt: on one of the large dishes, is an engraved

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representation of the Last Supper, and on the other, the Royal Arms.

Since the attempt made to steal the crown, in Charles the Second's reign, no person is suffered to inspect the Regalia, unaccompanied by a Warder; and there is likewise a centinel stationed at the entrance.

THE CHAPEL OF ST. PETER AD VINCULA,

Which is situated at the north-west angle of the inner ward, adjacent to the garrison parade, was erected in the reign of King Edward the First, and is supposed to occupy the site of a chapel still more ancient, that was also dedicated to St. Peter, and for the embellishment, &c. of which, Henry the Third issued minute directions, when he directed that of St. John, in the White Tower, to be repaired and ornamented, in the year 1240.

From the original document, which Strype first copied into his edition of Stow's London, it appears, that the King, among other things, commanded that the *Royal Stalls* should be painted; and the *little Mary*, with her shrine or tabernacle, and the figures of St. Peter, St. Nicholas, and St. Katharine, newly coloured:—two images of the Blessed Virgin, one of them in a solemn archiepiscopal vesture, were to be made, and painted with the best colours; and another image, of St. Christopher holding and carrying Jesus, was also to be made and painted:—before the respective altars of St. Nicholas and St. Katharine, two fair tables containing the legends of those Saints, were to be painted with the best colours; and two fair cherubims, *(scherumbinos)*, with cheerful

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and pleasant countenances, *(cum hyllari et jocoso)*, were to be placed to the right and left of the great cross :—a marble font, with marble columns, well and decently sculptured, was also to be provided.

The present Chapel, which has undergone many alterations, is a low edifice, unadorned with either buttress or battlement, but has a small tower at the west end, surmounted by a bell turret. On the south side, are five almost flat-arched windows, of the Tudor age, which, most probably, were thus altered in the reign of Henry the Eighth, when, as we learn from Holinshed, the Chapel was much injured by fire. They are severally divided into three compartments, having cinquefoil terminations. At the east end, is another window, of similar style and character; and, on the north side, two others. The interior consists of a nave, chancel, and north aisle; the latter is separated from the nave by five low-pointed arches, springing from light clustered columns, with polygonal capitals: the roof is plain, and comparatively modern.

This Chapel derives its sole interest from being the burial-place of most of those distinguished persons who have fallen victims to ambition, jealousy, or crime, either within the Tower, or in its immediate precincts. In this melancholy list may be enumerated *Gerald Fitzgerald*, ninth Earl of Kildare, and Lord Deputy of Ireland, who having been committed to the Tower on suspicion of treasonable practices, died there of a broken heart, in December, 1534. Here also, in the following year, were deposited the decapitated remains of *Fisher*, Bishop of Rochester, and *Sir Thomas More;* but the body of the latter, according to Wood and Weever, was subsequently

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obtained by his accomplished daughter, Margaret Roper, and re-interred in Chelsea Church.[67]

In front of the altar, commingling in dust, lie the bodies of *Anne Boleyn*, the beauteous Queen of Henry the Eighth, and her unworthy successor in the tyrant's bed, *Katharine Howard;* together with *George, Lord Rochford,* (Queen Anne's guiltless, but ill-fated, brother,) and *Lady Rochford,* his Countess, through whose false testimony that nobleman was beheaded, in 1536; whilst she, herself, unpitied, suffered in 1541, on the same scaffold with *Queen Katharine,* of whose many adulteries she had been the chief confidant. With them rests the mangled corse of the venerable Margaret, *Countess of Salisbury,* the last direct descendant of the royal line of Plantagenet.

Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex, Henry's chief instrument in the suppression of papal supremacy; *Thomas Seymour,* Baron Sudeley, the suitor of the Princess Elizabeth, and brother to the *Protector, Somerset,* who was constrained, through his turbulence, to consign him to the scaffold, in 1549, and who was himself decapitated within three years afterwards; and Somerset's aspiring but alike unfortunate rival, *John Dudley,* Duke of Northumberland, were also interred within these walls;—together with those hapless victims to parental ambition, the *Lady Jane Grey,* and her youthful husband, *Lord Guildford Dudley.*

In the next reign, *Thomas Howard,* Duke of Norfolk, whose pretensions to the hand of the imprisoned Queen of Scots, brought him to the block; his son, *Philip*

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[67] The skull of Sir Thomas More is preserved in a vault beneath St. Dunstan's Church, at Canterbury.

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Howard, the pious Earl of Arundel, whose austerities in confinement accelerated his death; and *Robert Devereux*, Earl of Essex, the chivalrous but rash favourite of Queen Elizabeth,—were also sepulchred in this Chapel. The remains of *James*, Duke of Monmouth, son of Charles the Second, lie buried under the communion table; and beneath the western gallery, in one grave, those of the Scotch Lords *Kilmarnock*, *Balmerino*, and *Lovat*, who suffered for the Rebellion of 1745; the spot of their interment is denoted by a flat stone, on which is cut three circular marks with a line crossing them.

At the north-west corner of the aisle, upon a richly ornamented altar-tomb, are recumbent effigies of *Sir Richard Cholmondeley*, Knt. Lieutenant of the Tower in the time of Henry the Eighth, and of the *Lady Elizabeth*, his wife. The tomb is divided into square compartments, enclosing blank shields, within lozenges: at the corners, are twisted columns, and the base is adorned with carved foliage. Sir Richard is represented in plate armour, with a collar of SS. and a rose pendant, of peculiar workmanship; the hands are clasped upon the breast; the head is uncovered, and reposes upon a helmet; at the feet is a lion. His Lady is attired in a long vest, with a pointed head-dress.

Against the northern wall of the chancel is raised a large and costly monument in memory of *Sir Richard Blount*, Knt., *Sir Michael* his son, (both Lieutenants of the Tower, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth,) and their respective families. This is designed in the Corinthian order, and consists of a central and two lateral columns, supporting an enriched entablature; under which, springing from intervening piers, are four deeply-recessed semi-circular arches, including kneeling groups of the

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deceased, in the attitude of prayer. The Knights are represented in armour, and their wives and children are shewn in the dresses of their time. All the figures were painted and richly gilt, but their original splendour is greatly deteriorated. Inscription tablets are placed in front of the larger piers, and sculptured armorial shields are affixed upon the entablature.

A plain tablet against the south wall of the chancel, preserves the memory of *Sir Allan Apsley*, who was fourteen years Lieutenant of the Tower, and died in 1630. Near it is a singular mural monument, bearing busts of *George Payler*, Esq. "Master-Surveyor of the Ordnance" under Charles the First, and of *Lady Maria Carey*, his wife, with three children, in infant dresses, between them. On the northern side of the nave, against one of the columns, is affixed a richly-ornamented tablet, bearing a long Latin inscription, commemorative of *Sir Jonas More*, Surveyor-General of the Ordnance under Charles the Second; and a plain stone on the floor beneath it, marks the place of sepulture of the venerable *Talbot Edwards*, the Keeper of the Regalia at the time of Blood's daring attempt to steal the crown; his decease occurred on the 30th of September, 1674, his age being eighty years and nine months.

In one vault, near the middle of the aisle, lie the bodies of *George Holmes*, Esq. and Mr. *Robert Lemon*; the former was Deputy-Keeper of the Records in the Tower, and the first Vice-President of the Society of Antiquaries; he died in February, 1748: the latter, who, for many years, was Chief Clerk on the same establishment, died in December, 1813.

Under Edward the First, the Chaplain of St. Peter's Chapel received a yearly salary of fifty shillings, which

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was subsequently exchanged for an annual rent of sixty shillings, issuing out of premises in Candlewick-street, London, the officiating priest being then termed *Rector*. Edward the Third "converted this Chapel into a sort of collegiate Church," appointing three chaplains besides the rector, and giving for their maintenance, in addition to the aforesaid rent of sixty shillings, thirty-one shillings and eight pence, accruing from tenements on Tower Hill, and in Petty Wales; five shillings from a tenement near St. Katharine's Hospital; a custom arising from "stal-botes," weirs, and other engines upon the Thames; ten marks from the Exchequer; twenty shillings from the Constable of the Tower; the sums of thirteen shillings and fourpence, and ten shillings, out of the respective fees of the Master and Clerk of the Mint; and one penny weekly, out of the wages of every workman in the Mint.[69] This grant was confirmed by every succeeding monarch, down to Edward the Fourth, who, in lieu of the rector and chaplains, instituted a dean and three canons, whom he incorporated by the name of "The Dean and Canons of the Royal Free Chapel of the King's Household, within the Tower of London;"[70] but the King dying before this grant was completed, his intentions were rendered ineffectual.

King Edward the Sixth first subjected this Chapel to the episcopal authority of the Bishop of London; and his successor, Queen Mary, confirmed the jurisdiction of that Prelate, by the following order:—

"Item, it is allsoe orderede for advaunceme't of devyne service and religyon, that the curate nowe servinge w^th^in the saide Towere, and his souccessores for ever, shall take instrucyon of

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[69] Bayley's Hist. of the Tower, App. Vol. i. p. iv. [70] Ibid. p. vi.

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the byssope of London, and his souccessores for the tyme being, by the name of the parsone of the Towere; and that the saide parsone and his souccessores, and all inhabittauncyes w^th^in the saide Towere, shall perpetually be reputed and takyne to belonge to the speciall jurysdyctyon of the boushope of London and his souccessores."

In the same Ordinance which confirmed the Bishop of London's jurisdiction, is the following passage: —

"And whereas there is a Churche w^th^in the Tower, and therein divine sarvis daylye usede, and yett nether parsone nor vicare of the same, and so apperinge but donatyve at the kinge and quene's ma'ts pleasure, whereby no parsone abide to have curre of sowle, whiche is to be remedid, and therefore their ma'tts pleasure is the same be establyshede in to perfeccyon, as to their gracye's cownsell and th' ordinary shal be thought convenyent."

Under James the First, the right of the Chaplain of the Tower to perform the ceremonies of marriage and baptism was questioned; and, in 1620, both the rector and his son, the curate, were excommunicated for solemnizing them; but the right has since been fully recognized aud established. The advowson belongs to the Crown, and the Chaplain receives from the Exchequer a yearly salary of £115 : 5*s*.

"Behind the Church or Chapel of St. Peter, there was," says Mr. Bayley, referring to original documents, "at an early period, a small *cell* or *hermitage*, of which we find frequent mention in records of the reign of King Henry III. In one place it is noticed as the reclusory, or hermitage of St. Peter; in another, as that of St. Eustace. It was in the King's gift, and seems to have been bestowed on either sex. The recluse inhabiting it daily received a penny of the King's charity.[71]"

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[71] Bayley's Hist. of the Tower, Vol. i. p. 129; and App. Vol. ii. p. cviii.

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In the south-west part of the inner ward, is situated

THE GOVERNOR'S HOUSE,

As it is now called, although formerly denominated the '*Lieutenant's Lodgings:*' this is an inconvenient building of Henry the Eighth's time, but has since undergone numerous alterations and repairs. Except the *Council Chamber*, on the second floor (now occupied as a bed-room,) it contains very little deserving of remark. That apartment derived its present appellation from the Commissioners, who were appointed by King James the First, assembling within it for the examination of those persons who were implicated in the Gunpowder Plot.

Sir William Waade, the then Lieutenant of the Tower, commemorated that atrocious conspiracy by a kind of monument, erected against the right-hand wall of the Council Chamber, near the fire-place, about four feet from the floor, and inclosed by folding doors. It is constructed of differently-coloured marbles, inlaid with five oval slabs, or plates, on which the following particulars are inscribed; as well in reference to the plot and the conspirators, as to the royal family and the examining Commissioners.

Jacobvs Magnvs Magnæ Britāniæ
Rex, pietate, jvstitia, prvdentia, doctrina, fortitvdine,
clementia, ceterisq. virtvtibvs regiis clariss'; christianæ
fidei, salvtis publicæ, pacis vniversalis propvgnator, favtor,
Avctor acerrimvs, avgvstiss', avspicatiss'.
Anna Regina Frederici 2. Danorv Regis invictiss' filia sereniss'
Henricvs Princeps, naturæ ornamentis, doctrinæ præsidiis, gratiæ
Mvneribvs, instrvctiss' nobis & natvs & a Deo datvs.
Carolvs Dvx Eboracensis divina ad omnem virtvtem indole.
Elizabetha vtrivsq. soror germana, vtroque parente, dignissima.
Hos, velvt pvpillam ocvli tenellam
providvs mvni, procvl impiorvm
impetv alarvm tvarvm intrepidos
Conde svb vmbra.

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Robertvs Cecil, Comes Sarisbvriensis sūmvs & Regis
Secretarivs & Angliæ Thesavrarivs, clariss' patris
& de repvb. meritissimi filivs, in paterna mvnera
svccessor longe dignissimvs;
Henricvs, Comes Northamptoniæ, Qvinq. Portvū Prefectvs, &
Privati Sigilli Cvstos, disertorv litteratissimvs, litterato-
-rvm disertissimvs;
Carolvs Comes Nottingamiæ, Magnvs Angliæ Admirallvs victoriosvs;
Thomas Svffolciæ Comes, Regis Camerarivs splendidissimvs,
tres viri nobilissimi ex antiqva Howardorv familia Dvcvmq.
Norfolciæ prosapia;
Edwardvs Somersetvs Comes Wigorniæ, Eqvis regiis Præfectvs
ornatissimvs;
Carolvs Blvnt Comes Devoniæ, Hyberniæ Prorex & Pacificator;
Joannes Areskinvs illvstris Marriæ Comes, præcipvarū in Scotia Arcivm
præfectvs;
Georgivs Hvmivs Dvmbari Comes, Scotiæ Thesavrarivs prvdentissim';
omnes illvstriss' Ordinis Garteri Milites.
Joannes Popham, Miles, Jvsticiarivs Angliæ Capitalis,
justiciæ consvltissimvs.

Deo opt: max: trivno, sospitatori, &
tantæ, tam atrocis, tamq. incredibilis in Regem
clementiss: in Reginam sereniss'; in divinæ indolis & op-
-timæ spei Principem, cœteramq. progeniem regiam, et in om-
-nem omnivm ordinem, & nobilitatis antiqvæ, & fortitvdinis avitæ,
et pietatis castissimæ, & justitiæ sanctissimæ florem præcipvvm,
conjurationis exequendæ nitrosi pvlveris svbjecti inflamatione,
Christianæ veræq. religionis extingvendæ fvriosa libidine, et
regni stirpitvs evertendi nefaria cvpiditate, a Jesvitis Romanensibvs,
perfidiæ Catholicæ & impietatis viperinæ avtoribvs & assertoribvs,
alilsq. ejvsdem amentiæ scelerisq. patratoribvs & socils svsceptæ, & in
ipso pestis derepentæ inferendæ articvlo (salvtis anno + 1605 + mensis
Novembris die quinto) tam præter spem, qvam svpra fidem miri-
-fice et divinitvs detectæ averrvnco, et vindici, grates
qvantas animi capere possent maximas et immortales, a nobis
omnibvs, et posteris nostris haberi et agi Gvlielmvs Waade
Miles Tvrri a Domino Rege Præfectvs, posito perpe-
-tvo hoc monvmento volvit, die nono mensis
Octb. anno regni Jacobi primi sexto,
Año Dnī 1608.

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Conjuratorv̄ nomina, ad perpetv̄a ipsorv̄ infamiam et tantæ diritatis detestationem sempiternam.

Monachi salvtare Jesu nomẽ ementiti.

Henry Garnet
John Gerard
Oswald Tẽsond
Edward Hall
Hamo
Baldwi

Thomas Winter
Robert Winter
John Winter
Gvy Fawkes
Thomas Bates
Everard Digby, K
Am'. Rookewood
John Gravnt
Robert Keyes
Henry Morga

Thomas Percy
Robert Catesby
John Wright
Christopher Wright
Francis Tresham
Thoas Ab'ington
Edmod Baineham, K
Wilm. Stanley, K
Hughe Owen.

מְגַלֶּה עֲמֻקוֹת מִכֵּי־תְשֵׁךְ וַיֹּצֵא לְאוֹר צַלְמָוֶת׃

Pandit, et in lucem profert de nocte profunda
Terra immersa alte et fati caligine cæca.

Hi omnes illustrissmi viri, qvorv̄ nomina ad sempiternam eorvm memoriam posteritati consecrandam proxime svpra ad lineam posita svnt, vt regi a consiliis, ita ab eo delegati qvæsitores, reis singvlis incredibili diligentia ac cvra sæpivs appellatis, nec minore solertia et dexteritate pertentatis eorv̄ animis, eos svis ipsorvm inter se collatis responsionibvs convictos, ad volvntariam confessionem adegervnt; et latentem nefarie conjvrationis seriem, remq. omnem vt hactenvs gesta; et porro per eos gerenda esset, svmma fide ervta æterna cvm lavde sva in lvcem prodvxervnt, adeo vt divina singvlari providentia effectv̄ sit, vt tam præsens, tamq. feda tempestas a regia majestate, liberisq. regiis et omni regno depvlsa, in ipsos avtores eorvq. socios redvndarit.[72]

Along the cornice is a range of small shields, displaying the arms of the Commissioners who conducted the enquiry; of Sir Edward Coke, the then Attorney-

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[72] Some other inscriptions are slightly scratched at the ends of the monument, on the cornice; but as those are in a different style, and do not appear to have belonged to the original design, they are here omitted.

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General; and of Sir Wm. Waade, who erected this memorial. The latter also caused an oval medallion of his royal master to be placed over the fire-place, in the same chamber. It is executed in basso-relievo, and painted to resemble oak. The monarch is represented in a close jacket and baldrick, with his shirt collar turned back upon his shoulders: the beard is long and full: a round hat and plume of feathers, somewhat in the Spanish style, complete the costume.

Some very recent improvements made on this floor, by direction of Major Elrington, the present resident Governor, have led to the discovery of a curious inscription relating to the second imprisonment in the Tower of that illustrious lady, *Margaret, Countess of Lenox*, and Grandmother to James the First. It is neatly cut upon one of the upper stones of an old mantle-piece, which had been entirely concealed by a more modern facing, but is now intended, by Major Elrington, to be restored to its former state. The inscription, which is in Roman capitals, states that the Countess was "commytede prysner to thys Logynge," on the 20th of June, 1565, "for the Mārege of her Sonne, my Lord Henry Darnle, and the Quene of Scotlande." It also mentions the names of several persons "that doe wayte vpon her nobē Grace, in thys plase," and has the date 1566, annexed. On the corresponding stone, but apparently inscribed by another hand, is a verse of four lines, expressive of resignation, and pious confidence.

At what time this confinement of the Countess was terminated, does not appear. On her decease, in March, 1577, she was interred in the south aisle of Henry the Seventh's Chapel, at Westminster, where an interesting monument, on which is her recumbent figure, in ala-

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baster, records many particulars of her illustrious descent.

The domestic offices attached to this residence are partly within the ancient tower, forming the south-west angle of the inner ward, and called

THE BELL TOWER,

From being surmounted "by a small wooden turret, containing the alarm bell of the garrison." This, like most of the other towers, was anciently a prison lodging; and it appears from Fuller's "Church History," that the venerable Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, was one of its sad inmates. There is also a traditionary tale, that the Princess Elizabeth was confined here, when imprisoned by her sister, Queen Mary; yet, apparently, grounded on a slight foundation.

In its plan, this tower, which consists of one story above the basement floor, nearly forms a circle. The basement is curiously vaulted; and there are deep recesses in the walls, which are of great thickness: narrow loop-holes, or embrasures, admit the light. The massive ribs, which support the vaulting, spring from very short columns, and form high-pointed arches.

The following lines have been rudely cut, by some prisoner, on the left of the entrance to the uppermost room.

Bi . tortvre . stravnge . my .
trovth . was . tried . yet . of .
my . lybertie . denied : ther . for .
reson . hath . me . perswaded :
that . paysens . mvst . be . ym .
brasyd : thogh . hard . fortvne .
chasyth . me . wyth . smart
yet . paysens . shall . prevayl .

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CHAPTER V.

GENERAL PARTICULARS OF THE DIFFERENT TOWERS CONNECTED WITH THE WALLS OF THE INNER WARD, OR BALLIUM; WITH BRIEF NOTICES OF MANY EMINENT INDIVIDUALS WHO HAVE BEEN IMPRISONED IN THEM, AND ESPECIALLY IN THE BEAUCHAMP TOWER.—ACCOUNT OF THE RECORD OFFICE.

The boundary walls of the inner ward or ballium were connected with, and defended by, thirteen strong *Towers*, standing at unequal distances from each other, and varying from a partly square and partly semicircular form, to that of a complete circle. Except in two or three instances, these Towers yet remain: in general, they consist of two stories above the basement, and were doubtless embattled; but the upper parts have mostly been either destroyed or hidden, in converting them into regular dwellings. They are of great strength, the walls being very thick, and composed of flints, and rubble, faced with masonry; and, in some parts, the thickness is exteriorly increased by a deep splay, or swell, at the foundation. Along the line of the ballium wall, on the top, was a convenient communication from tower to tower, by means of a foot-way, protected by an embrasured parapet. There were passages, also, between

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different towers, *underground*, constructed within the substance of the walls; but these have been blocked up, and most of the basement stories are now occupied as domestic offices. The height of the ballium wall is about forty feet; it varies from its base upwards, from twelve to nine feet in thickness, and there are convenient ascents to the parapet walk, by flights of steps from the area of the inclosure.

The names of the different towers, commencing at the south-west angle, surrounding this Ward, are as follow:—the Bell Tower; the Beauchamp, or Cobham Tower; the Devereux Tower; the Flint Tower; the Bowyer's Tower; the Brick Tower; the Jewel Tower; the Constable Tower; the Broad-Arrow Tower; the Salt Tower; the Lanthorn Tower; the Record Tower; and the Bloody Tower.

The *Bell Tower* has already been described in the preceding chaper, in connection with the Governor's House. We shall therefore proceed to

THE BEAUCHAMP, OR COBHAM TOWER,

Which is supposed to have derived the former appellation from having been the prison of Thomas Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, in 1397; and the latter, from some of the Cobhams who were implicated in Wyat's rebellion, and became its inmates in Queen Mary's reign. It appears, indeed, to have been occupied as a "prison lodgyng" from a very early period; and many persons of illustrious rank and birth have been secluded within its walls.

This tower stands exactly in the central part of the western side of the inner ward, and projects in a half circle from the ballium wall. It consists of two stories,

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to which access is obtained by a circular stone stair-case, and narrow passages, formed within the substance of the wall: the latter, on the eastern side, is about fifteen feet in thickness; and in the projecting part, eight feet thick. The two largest apartments may each be described as about twenty feet square, but obtruncated at the north-western and south-western angles. In the upper apartment, a heavy iron-grating in front of a window, still denotes its former appropriation; the floor, also, which is constructed of thick oaken planks, studded with large iron nails, assimilates in character, from being worn hollow, in different parts, as though by the melancholy, constant tread of those persons who have been immured in this chamber.

This tower has acquired much historical celebrity, from a discovery, made in 1796, of numerous memorials upon its walls, which were sculptured by its sad inmates, to beguile the tedious hours of imprisonment. These consist of inscriptions, devices, and coats of arms, and may be regarded as the undoubted autographs of the persons whose names are attached to them. The discovery was made in the above year, in effecting some requisite alterations for converting this building into a "mess-house" for the officers of the garrison; to whose use it was then first appropriated.[73]

In the projecting circular part of the large prison-

[73] Shortly afterwards, an account of this discovery was communicated by the Rev. J. Brand, to the Society of Antiquaries, by whom it was made public in the 13th volume of the "Archæologia;"—but a more correct detail, illustrated by engraved representations of the principal inscriptions and devices, has been since published by Mr. Bayley, in his meritorious History of this fortress.

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room on the first floor, which is now the *mess-room* of the officers, there are several pointed-arched recesses, which formerly admitted light through narrow embrasures, or loop-holes, with deep splays interiorly; but the loop-holes are now blocked up, and two large windows have been opened on the eastern side, in lieu of them. The entrance is on the south side, and near it, cut on the wall, is the name of *Marmaduke Nevile*, who is conjectured to have been a participator in the rebellion of 1569, in which the Nevilles of Westmoreland took an active part.

Somewhat further towards the right, is a deeply-indented sculpture, in several compartments. The more central division includes a shield, charged with three wheat-sheaves, the arms of the *Peverels*, of Devonshire. Within the other divisions, are a pomegranate, having ARMA, the initials T. P., and two slips of foliage intertwined, below it;—a crucifix, whereon is a bleeding heart, over which is INRI, and, at the foot of the cross, PEVEREL;—and the upper part of a skeleton, manacled at the neck. Another sculpture, in the north-eastern recess, by the same person, is formed somewhat like a horse-shoe, and has round it, ADORAMUS TE—BENEDICT. with other mutilated words; at the bottom, is the name *Thomas Peverel.*

On the right of the southern recess is inscribed, in old Italian,—"*Dispoi che vole la fortvna che la mea speransa va al vento pianger, ho volio el tempo perdvdo: e semper stel me tristo e discontēto.—Wilim: Tyrrel,* 1541."—Since fortune hath chosen that my hope should go to the wind to complain, I wish the time were destroyed; my planet being ever sad and unpropitious.—Tyrrel is sup-

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posed to have been a prisoner here, in the reign of Henry the Eighth.

Over the fire-place is the following autograph of *Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel*; of whom Mr. Brand observes, "The sentence to which he has subscribed his name, is remarkably adapted to the character that has been left of him; according with the austerities which, Camden tells us, he used to practise, and the tenor of his behaviour, which other accounts have furnished to us, as not unbecoming the primitive ages of the Christian Church."[74]—"*Quanto plus afflictionis pro Christo in hoc sæculo, tanto plus gloriæ cum Christo in futuro. Arundell, June* 22, 1587."—The underwritten sentence, viz. "*Gloria et honore eum coronasti domine,*" is thought to have been added as an eulogium on the Earl, by some other Romanist. His memory was so highly venerated, that, according to Pennant, a late Duchess of the Howard family "procured his scull, had it enchased in gold, and kept it to exalt her devotion, as a relique of a martyr to religion."[75]

Near the middle recess is a well-executed device of *John Dudley*, Earl of Warwick, eldest son of the Duke of Northumberland, who was tried and condemned for participating in the rash attempt to bestow sovereignty on Lady Jane Grey, but was afterwards reprieved, and died in prison.[76] This sculpture, which is about thirteen inches square, displays a shield within an enriched border, composed of roses, slips of oak, with acorns, and other foliage: on the shield are a lion, and

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[74] Archæologia, Vol. xiii. p. 72.—Vide antea, p. 121.

[75] Pennant's Survey of London, p. 258, edit. 1805.

[76] Kennet's Complete History of England, Vol. ii. p. 332.

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a bear erect, grasping a ragged staff, and under them, in capital letters, the words JOHN DUDLE. Beneath the whole, are the following enigmatical lines, in Roman capitals, in allusion to the names of his four brothers, and to the figures in the sculpture.

> " You that these beasts do wel behold and se,
> May deme with ease wherefore here made they be,
> With borders eke wherin .....[77]
> 4 Brothers' names who list to serche the ground."

John Dudley, with the four brothers to whom he alludes, viz. Ambrose, Robert, Guildford, and Henry, and the Duke his father, were all prisoners in the Tower at the same period.

On the left of the western recess, are the words, "DOLOR PATIENTIA VINCITVR. G. GYFFORD, AVGVST 8, 1586;"—and, in another part of the room, an upright sculpture, by the same person, representing (under an ogee arch, surmounted by an oaken branch,) a shield charged with ten torteauxes; the crest is a hand grasping three flowers. On each side of the shield, is the initial G, with the date 1586; and underneath is inscribed,—"MALA CONSCIENTIA FACIT VT TVTA TIMEANTVR. G. GIFFORD." Mr. Brand referred the above memorials to *George Gifford*, who is noticed in Bishop Carleton's "Thankful Remembrance of God's Mercie," as "one of the Queene's Gentlemen Pencionaries, that had sworne to kill the Queene, and for that cause had wiped [the Duke of] Guise of a great summe of money."—Camden says he was accused falsely.

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[77] The rest is unfinished, but may be supplied thus,—"*there may be found.*"—Bayley's Hist. of the Tower, vol. i. p. 147.

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Within the same recess, but much mutilated, is an autograph of *Charles Bailly*, dated 1571, "*die — Aprilis*," attached to some moral reflections on the necessity of being circumspect before reposing confidence; and near the edge of the same recess, on the right, is another memorial by the same person, with the date "*Anno D.* 1571, 10 *Sept.*" The latter, which is neatly sculptured on an upright pannel, thirteen inches wide, and twenty inches high, includes, among other short sentences, the following apothegm:—"*The most vnhapy man is he that is not pacient in adversities: For men are not killed with the adversities they have, bvt with y^e impacience which they svffer. Æt.* 29." At the top, within a circle, are the Greek abbreviations of the name of Christ, *I. H. S.*, & *X. P. S.*, surrounded by a label inscribed "*Principivm sapientie timor Domini.*"

It appears, from Lord Burghley's State Papers,[78] that Bailly, who was a Fleming, or Brabanter, by birth, though probably of Scotch extraction, had for several years been engaged as an emissary in the service of Mary, Queen of Scots, and was in immediate communication with John Lesley, Bishop of Ross, her confidential friend and adviser. In the spring of 1571, he was despatched to England, with a packet of letters, in cypher, directed to the Bishop, by Ridolphi, a Florentine merchant, and agent of the Pope, in the attempts then making to excite the foreign princes to take arms against Queen Elizabeth. On his arrival at Dover, Bailly was seized and imprisoned, and his important packet was delivered to Lord Cobham, governor of the Cinque

[78] Murdin's "Collection of State Papers," p. 7.

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Ports; but the Bishop of Ross contrived, by stratagem, to substitute other letters for those which had been sent, and thus retarded the discovery of the plots in agitation. He also contrived, for a few weeks, to carry on a private correspondence with the imprisoned messenger; yet not without the knowledge of Lord Burghley, who caused their letters to be intercepted, and decyphered *in transitu.* The consequences were disastrous to poor Bailly, who was removed from the Marshalsea to the Tower, on the 27th of April, having previously undergone a severe examination, and been threatened with the loss of his ears. On this, in one of his secret letters to the Bishop, he very *naïvely* observes,—"*J' aymerois mieulx perdre la vie que perdre mes oreilles.*"[79] Two days afterwards, (April the 29th,) he was again very harshly examined by Lord Burghley, who told him, that he would send orders to the Lieutenant, to place him upon the rack if he still remained obstinate;—"*à quoy il me respondist que si je voulois demeurer opiniastre, il envoyeroit commandement avec ung des Secretaires au Lieutenant pour me mettre sur la gehenne, tout pour par toute force me contraindre à ces desciphrements, qu' aussi,*" &c.[80]— That this last threat was almost immediately executed, appears by a letter from the Bishop of Ross, dated May the 1st, which, after acquainting Bailly, that strong intercession was employed in his behalf, states, that the Earl of Leicester and Burghley had promised to "cause moderation to be used hereafter; and although they will mak you afrayd, *yet yow shall not be racked any more.*"[81]

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[79] Murdin's "Collection of State Papers," Vol. i. p. 8.
[80] Ibid. [81] Ibid. p. 9.

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The firmness, however, of this unfortunate man had been subdued, and he not only submitted to give the required information, but also, in a long letter to Burghley, on the 5th of May, offered, if "sett at libertie," to give intelligence, "from daye to daye," of every thing that came to his knowledge through his intercourse and credit with the Bishop of Ross.[82] Whether his sincerity was considered questionable, or that it had been resolved to punish him for his recent obstinacy, does not appear; but that he was still a prisoner in the following October, is evident from another letter to Burghley, dated on the 12th of that month,—"the seventh of my imprisonment;" in which he most affectingly implores for liberty, and promises to make "an oathe," never again to serve "any Scottishman, or stranger," but the "Queene's Majesty," and his Lordship.[83] This application was ineffectual, as may be inferred from a letter written by Sir Owen Hopton, Lieutenant of the Tower, on the 12th of January, 1571-2, at which time Bailly was imprisoned "in *Colherborowe*," near the White Tower.[84]

Near the memorial last mentioned, is inscribed

1570
IHON STORE
DOCTOR.

This John Store, or *Story*, as his name is spelt by

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[82] Murdin's "Collection of State Papers," Vol. i. p. 11.

[83] Ibid. pp. 14, 15.

[84] MSS. in Turre Lond. penes Constab.—The Lieutenant's weekly charge for Bailly's maintenance, was 22*s.* 4*d.*; viz. for his diet, 13*s.* 4*d.*; his keeper, 5*s.*; fuel and candle, 4*s.* The like sum, as appears from the same manuscript, was also allowed for every common prisoner, then in the Tower. Ibid.

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historians, was an erudite divine of the Romish Church, who, during the reigns of Edward the Sixth and Queen Mary, was extremely conspicuous for his opposition to the reformed doctrines, and for his cruelty to the Protestants. Having obstinately refused to take the oath of supremacy, and being charged, also, with uttering treasonable speeches, and with his cruelties in Queen Mary's reign, he was condemned to die; and after an imprisonment in the Tower of about sixteen months' continuance, was, on the 1st of June, 1571, dragged upon a hurdle to Tyburn, where he expiated his crimes with his life. He was then upwards of seventy years of age, and under the dire penalty for treason, was cut down *alive*, and is said to have struggled with the executioner, whilst the latter was in the act of disembowelment. His head was "sett up" upon London Bridge, and his quarters upon the city gates.

Near the name of Dr. Story, is that of "*Henrye Cockun*," who is thought to have been one of the confidential agents of the Bishop of Ross;—and nearly under it, is a coat of arms, viz. three stars and a fleur-de-lis, and some philosophic reflections, in capital letters, (dated in April, 1559,) by "*William Rame*"; probably one of the many ecclesiastics, said by Howes to have been deprived of their benefices, and committed to the Tower in that year.

Within the third recess, are two or three autographs of "*Thomas Clarke*," who is conjectured to have been a Catholic priest that made his recantation at St. Paul's Cross, in July, 1593. One of them, dated in 1576, concludes with the following couplet:—

"Unhappie is that mane whose actes doth procver
The miseri of this hovs in prison to indvre."

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Beneath that inscription, are these lines, in rude capitals:—

Thomas Miagh which liethe here alone
That fayne wold from hens begon
Bi tortvre stravnge mi trovth was
Tryed yet of my libertie denied.
1581. THOMAS MYAGH.

There are several other sculptures in this part of the room, but mostly imperfect, or uninteresting. Among them is an autograph of "*Thomas Rooper*," (who is thought to have been related to Sir Thomas More's family,) with the date 1570, a recumbent skeleton, and the following curious example of alliteration:—

Per passage penible passons a port plaisant.

Near the same place is the autograph of "*Geffrye Poole*, 1562," the instrument of the death of his own brother, Henry Pole, Viscount Montague, and of other noblemen, in 1538;[85] and himself a prisoner in the Tower until his decease, in Queen Elizabeth's reign.

The name "*Edmonde Poole*" also occurs here, and in different parts of this Tower are several interesting memorials of "*Arthur Poole*," his elder brother. These gentlemen were great grandsons to George, Duke of Clarence, and, in 1562, were accused, among other treasons, with having conspired to obtain the aid of the Duke of Guise, in raising Mary, Queen of Scots, to the English throne. They were tried in 1564, and adjudged guilty; their lives were spared, but they were suffered to die in prison, and were buried in the Tower Chapel.

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[85] Vide Chapter I. pp. 68, 69.

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Immediately under the autograph of Edmonde Poole, is the word "IANE," which Brand has assigned to the ill-fated Lady Jane Grey;—but Mr. Bayley argues against the probability of that surmise, and considers it to have been inscribed by her affectionate husband, the Lord Guildford Dudley.

There is likewise a memorial dated in 1573, of "*Hugh Longworthe,*" the unfortunate keeper, who was killed in that year, with "a billet ende out of the fire," by the frantic Peter Burchet.[86]

Near the northern recess is an autograph of "*Thomas Fitz-gerald,*" eldest son to the ninth Earl of Kildare, and Lord Deputy of Ireland in the reign of Henry the Eighth. This nobleman was hanged and quartered at Tyburn, on the 3rd of February 1537, together with his five uncles, who had all participated in the Irish Rebellion in the year 1534.

Another memorial records the name of "*Adam Sedbar: Abbas Jorevall.*"—This Sedbar, or Sedburgh, was the last Abbot of Jerveaux, or Gervis, in Yorkshire, and was hanged at Tyburn, in June 1537, for opposing the measures of King Henry the Eighth.

Near the eastern window is the anagram of *Dr. Thomas Abel,*—namely, a great A upon a bell,—who had been Chaplain to Katharine of Arragon, and was executed in Smithfield, on the 30th of July, 1540, together with two other Catholic divines, for denying the King's supremacy, and affirming his marriage with Queen Katharine to be lawful. Below this rebus is the name "*Doctor Cook,*" supposed to mean the Dr. Laurence Cook, Prior

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[86] Vide Chapter I. p. 118.

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of Doncaster, who was executed at Tyburn, with five others, in the above year, for their denial of the regal supremacy.

Passing over divers names, &c. of little interest, we notice the sculpture of an oak-tree bearing acorns, and having beneath it, the initials "R. D." This is attributed to *Robert Dudley*, afterwards Earl of Leicester, the great favourite of Queen Elizabeth, who had been sentenced for treason in Queen Mary's reign, as a participator in the attempted usurpation of Lady Jane Grey, but who was eventually pardoned.

Here, also, are autographs of several persons who were concerned in Aske's rebellion, in 1537, together with that of "*Eagremond Radclyffe*," dated in 1576, the only son of Henry, second Earl of Sussex, who was imprisoned in the Tower upwards of two years, for his concern in the northern rebellion of 1569. His pardon was inflexibly refused, notwithstanding his most earnest intercessions; and he could obtain no favour but that of being permitted to depart the realm for ever. He therefore retired into Flanders, in the summer of 1577, and entered into the service of Don John, of Austria; but such was his ill fate, that he was shortly afterwards executed in the camp before Namur, on suspicion of having engaged in a conspiracy against the life of his new master.

The most interesting memorial in the upper chamber of the Beauchamp Tower, is that of *Thomas Salmon*, who was imprisoned here in the reign of James the First. In the centre, within a circle, is a shield of arms, viz. a fret, on a chief, two mullets, surmounted by the name "T. SALMON." At the bottom is the motto, "*Nec timere nec timore*;" in one corner, without the circle, is a

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crest formed of three salmon; in the second, the date 1622; in the third, the letters I. H. S., within a star, encircled by the words "*Sic vive ut vivas;*" and in the fourth, a death's head, surrounded by the sentence, *Et morire ne moriaris.* At the top is inscribed,—"*Close prisoner* 8 *monethes,* 32 *wekes,* 224 *dayes,* 5376 *hovres.*"

There is a tradition that Anne Boleyn was confined in this apartment; but the letter from Sir William Kingston, the Lieutenant of the Tower, given in a preceding chapter, fully disproves that reputed tale.[87]

THE DEVEREUX TOWER

Derives its present appellation from having been the prison, in 1601, of Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, the chivalric favourite of Queen Elizabeth; but, in the survey taken in 1597, it is called the "Develin Tower," and in that of Henry the Eighth's reign, "Robyn the Devyll's Tower," of the origin of which epithets no account has been given.

This building, which is situated at the north-west angle of the inner ballium, immediately behind St. Peter's Chapel, is probably of a somewhat earlier date than the Beauchamp Tower, and has undergone but little alteration, except by the enlargement of its original loop-holes into modern windows. Its ground plot forms almost a circle, about nineteen feet in interior diameter, and its walls are eleven feet in thickness. It consists of two stories, above the basement, approached by a small

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[87] Vide antea, pp. 63, 64.

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winding stair-case, which communicates, at different heights, with two cells, constructed within the ballium wall, from the lowermost of which a secret passage is thought to have led to the next Tower. The basement floor itself is connected with a large dungeon, and appears to have had a communication with the vaults under St. Peter's Church. This floor is now used as a kitchen and offices, the Tower having been appropriated to the Ordnance Department, and being at present occupied by the master furbisher of the small arms. The kitchen is curiously vaulted, and the upholding ribs are bold and massive.[88]

THE FLINT TOWER.

Nothing remains of this Tower but the foundation walls; for the old structure, having become entirely ruinous, was levelled with the ground in the year 1796, by directions of the Board of Ordnance, and a plain brick edifice, nearly similar in form, was erected on its site. The old ruins were called *Little Hell*, probably from the narrow and confined dungeons which they contained, none of which were more than six feet in depth. The basement and the ground floor of the present building are used as store-houses, the upper floor as an engraving room for marking small arms. This Tower was ninety feet from the Devereux Tower, in a north-easterly

[88] In the year 1796, in repairing the stairs of this Tower, two ancient snuff-boxes were found. They were of an oval form with small screw tops, to one of which a little spoon was attached: at the sides were rude designs of stag-hunting and bull-baiting; and on one of them were inscriptions in old French.—Vide Archæologia, Vol. xiii. p. 395; and plate, xxiv.

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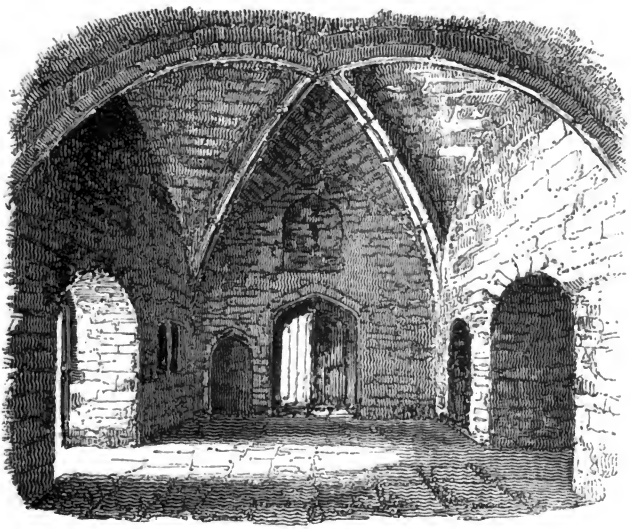

Interior of the Bowyer Tower.

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direction; and at a similar distance beyond it, in the same direction, stood

THE BOWYER'S TOWER,

Which acquired that name from having, in early times, been assigned as the residence of the master and provider of the King's bows. Of the ancient Tower, the basement floor is the only part remaining, the upper story being a modern brick edifice, used in war time for the inspection of small arms manufactured by the contracting gun-makers. The entrance to the basement, is from the "train of artillery;" through a wall ten feet in thickness. Its interior, which is shewn in the annexed print, is strongly groined and vaulted, but its original dungeon-like character, has been almost destroyed by the enlargement of three small loop-holes, within deep recesses, into windows. It was in this gloomy chamber, according to a long-standing tradition, that George, Duke of Clarence, brother to Edward the Fourth, was drowned in "a butt of malmsey wine;"[89] but whether that particular of his death be true or not, the formerly secluded and dismal aspect of this spot might fully establish the probability of it having been the scene of his murder. But there is a still more dreary vault beneath the floor, closed by a trap-door opening upon a flight of steps. Near the entrance, on the right, is a narrow cell, or more probably, the commencement of a secret passage, now blocked up, constructed within the ballium wall. The next Tower on this line, at the distance of about sixty-feet, is

[89] Vide Chapter I. p. 39.

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THE BRICK TOWER,

Which, in the survey taken in Henry the Eighth's reign, is stated to be the lodging of the Master of the Ordnance. Its last official resident was named Butler, after whom it has been locally called *Butler's Tower:* it is now used as a store-house. The basement floor partially corresponds with that of the Bowyer's Tower; but of the superstructure, which is of brick, and thought to have been raised towards the latter part of the fourteenth century, scarcely a vestige appears; it having undergone a complete repair in 1822, when the windows were modernized, and the exterior walls stuccoed and embattled. Between this and the Jewel Tower are the Sally-port stairs.

From the *Jewel Tower*, which has been described in the preceding Chapter, the ballium wall, forming the eastern boundary of the inner enclosure, takes a slanting direction towards the south. On this line is

THE CONSTABLE TOWER,

Which is now an appendage to the official residence of the chief clerk of the Surveyor-general's department of the Ordnance. This Tower is situated behind the map-office, on the terrace, and cannot be seen from the interior of the fortress. "In form and style of architecture, it closely corresponds with the Beauchamp Tower, but is of rather smaller dimensions: the interior has been modernized, and the windows greatly enlarged."[90]

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[90] Bayley's History of the Tower, p. 206.

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THE BROAD ARROW TOWER,

Which, in the survey of Henry the Eighth's reign, is called "the Tower at the east end of the Wardrobe," is now excluded from view by the official buildings on the terrace. This Tower is on a similar plan, and probably of the same age as the Beauchamp Tower, but of less magnitude. Like that also, it has been appropriated to the confinement of State delinquents; and the vestiges of numerous inscriptions on its walls, shew that it was especially so used in the reigns of the sister Queens, Mary and Elizabeth. These memorials are chiefly in the gloomy chamber of the first story, which has three deep recesses, terminating in narrow loop-holes, or embrasures. Repeated white-washings have, however, rendered most of the inscriptions illegible, and others are defaced. Among the few that can be read, occur the names of "*John Daniell,* 1556;" "*Giovàni Battista,* 1556;" "*Thomas Forde,* 1582;" "*John Stoughton,* 1586;" and "*J. Gage, January,* 1591." Of these persons, Daniell was hanged on Tower Hill, and afterwards beheaded, for being concerned in a plot to rob the Exchequer, and excite an insurrection in Queen Mary's reign; and Forde, a priest, was executed with other Catholics, for denying the Queen's supremacy. Gage and Stoughton are thought to have been seminary priests; of Battista, nothing is recorded. In the upper part of this Tower, near a small door-way, opening to the foot-path on the ballium wall, is a narrow cell, about six feet in depth, and three feet and a half wide, with a single loop-hole to relieve its dreariness. There are also deep recesses in the walls of the basement

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floor. This Tower is now the residence of one of the Yeoman-warders.

In the "Exact Draught" of this fortress, made in Queen Elizabeth's reign,[91] there is a long building represented as extending westward from the Broad Arrow Tower, and communicating with a strong round Tower, embattled, which stood near to the south-east angle of the Keep, or Citadel. Those buildings were called the *King's Private Wardrobe,* and the *Wardrobe Tower,* but not a vestige of either has been standing since the reign of James the Second. It appears that the "Kinge's wardrobe in the Tower," was not only used as a repository for the royal robes, armour, &c., but also as a treasury, into which talliages, quit-rents, fines, and other monies, were frequently paid, prior to their remittal to, or allowance at, the *Receipt* of the Exchequer.[92]

At the south-east angle of the inner ward, is

THE SALT TOWER,

Or, as it is frequently called, "*Julius Cæsar's Tower,*" by which name it is also recorded in the survey made in Henry the Eighth's reign. This Tower, although one of the oldest within the fortress, has not, as its latter appellation would imply, the slightest pretension to a Roman origin, and the remotest date that can be assigned to it, in an architectural point of view, must be restricted to the reign of William Rufus.

This Tower, which is nearly circular in plan, consists

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[91] Vide Chapter III. p. 224.

[92] Madox's History of the Exchequer, Vol. i. pp. 267, 269, second edit.

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of two stories above the vaulted dungeon that forms the basement, and to which, at present, there is no access but through a yeoman-warder's house, adjoining to the canteen called the *Golden Chain*. A small winding stair-case connects the upper stories, the access to which is by a flight of stone steps communicating with the ballium wall. In the dungeon walls are deep recesses; and on those of the chamber in the first story, are many sculptured memorials by different occupants of this "prison lodgyng." The most remarkable one, is a large device representing a *Sphere*, which is intersected by lines radiating from the signs of the Zodiac, the latter being denoted by their respective astrological characters. On a square frame, inclosing the sphere, the degrees of latitude and longitude are numbered; and, in a tabular column, uniting with it, are shewn the relative situations of the sun, moon, and planets, at every hour of the day and night. At the top are the following lines.—

HEW : DRAPER : OF . BRYSTOW : MADE : THYS :
SPHEER : THE : 30 : DAYE : OF : MAYE : ANNO . 1561.

Although this sculpture is so particularly dated, it must unquestionably have occupied much time in execution. In different parts of the chamber also, are other memorials by the same person, (including, probably, an ingeniously-carved globe,) who was both a professor of judicial astrology and a tavern-keeper. The following particulars relating to him were first published by the Rev. Mr. Brand.[93]

[93] Vide Archæologia, Vol. xiii. p. 98; from a MSS. copy of an account of the prisoners, which was delivered to the Lords of the Privy Council, on the 26th of May, 1561, by Sir Edward Warner, Knt., Lieutenant of the Tower.

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"Hugh Draper, comitted the 21st of March, 1560.—This man was brought in by the accusation of one John Man, an astronomer, as a suspect of a conjuror or sorcerer, and thereby to practise matter againste S^r William S^t Lowe and my Ladie; and in his confession it aperithe that before time he hathe ben busie and doinge w^th suche matters, but he deniethe any matter of weight touchinge S^r William Sentlo or my Ladie, and alsoe affirmethe y^t longe since he soe misliked his science, that he burned all his books. He is prntly [presently] verie sicke: he semithe to be a man of goode wealthe & kepithe a taverne at Bristowe and is of his neighbours well reported."

It is not improbable, but that Draper obtained his liberty in consequence of this report, as his name does not occur in the list of prisoners within the Tower, of the following year.

Among the autographs, the only one of particular interest is that of "*Mychael Moody, May* 15, 1587;" who, in that year, was committed to the Tower for engaging in a conspiracy against the life of Queen Elizabeth; of which Camden has given the details.

From the Salt Tower, the ancient ballium wall extended in a south-westerly direction to

THE LANTERN TOWER,

Which stood at the southern angle of the enclosure, and was connected with an embattled gateway that crossed the avenue between the wards, and communicated with the exterior rampart. In the Survey of Henry the Eighth's reign, this is described as "the *New Tow^r* at the weste ende of the Kyng's gallery, over the Kyng's bede chamb^r and prevy closset." It was then crowned by a turret, and, judging from the name, we may presume that it had been partly rebuilt on annexing it to the

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royal apartments. It was a large circular edifice, but having been partly destroyed by fire in the year 1788, the remains, (with the adjoining gateway) were soon afterwards taken down to the basement vault: the latter is now occupied as a cellar by the keeper of a canteen nearly opposite.

THE RECORD OFFICE,

Or "*Wakefield Tower*," which is situated near the middle of the southern line of the inclosure, is supposed, by Mr. Bayley to have formed one of the additions made to this fortress by King William Rufus; to whom, also, he attributes the erection of a massive stone wall, of considerable height, extending about one hundred feet from this building, "in a northerly direction."[94] This tower consists only of one story above the basement; the former appears to have been rebuilt in the early part of the thirteenth century, but the latter is evidently of the Norman age, and is "formed of regular courses of fine well-squared masonry."[95] Exteriorly, this edifice is of a circular form, but the apartments are octagonal; the lower one is twenty-eight feet in diameter, and the upper one about twenty-three feet. In the walls of the lower chamber, which are about thirteen feet in thickness, there are eight recesses, the arches of which are semicircular: there are also large recesses in the upper apartment, but the latter are much higher, and have pointed arches.

It was in this upper chamber, according to vulgar tradition, that the supposed murder of Henry the Sixth

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[94] Bayley's History of the Tower, Vol i. p. 218.

[95] Ibid. p. 219.

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was perpetrated. It is now fitted up with presses, and is known to have "been the repository of the ancient records of the kingdom, from the early part of the reign of Henry the Eighth;" if not at a much earlier period.[96]

At what period the Records of the Court of Chancery were first deposited in the Tower, or in what part of that fortress they were originally preserved, is unascertained: there can be little doubt, however, of records having been kept here in the early Norman times. In the thirty-third year of Edward the First, mention is made of the "rotuli de Scotia quæ sunt in custodia apud *Turrim* London."[97] Edward the Second, in the fourteenth year of his reign, gave directions for the arrangement of such rolls, books, and memoranda, as were then in his Treasury, and in the Tower of London;[98] and, two years afterwards, similar instructions were again issued to the Treasurer and Barons of the Exchequer.[99] In 1325, Robert de Hoton, and Thomas Sibthorp, who had been appointed to examine and arrange the Tower records, were commanded to surrender the keys of the chests in which they were contained.[100]

The Court of Chancery being formerly ambulatory, its records were frequently conveyed to places where the King held his court. Hence, we find, that when Edward the Third was preparing to invade Scotland, in 1333, and the Parliament and Courts of Justice consequently sat at York, a mandate was issued to the

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[96] Bayley's History of the Tower, Vol. i. p. 219.

[97] Rot. Claus. 33 Edw. I. m. 3. [98] Ibid. 14 Edw. II. m. 22.

[99] Ibid. 16 Edw. II. m. 19. d. [100] Ibid. 19 Edw. II. m. 26.

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Abbot and convent of Stratford,[101] to provide a sumpter horse and servant for the conveyance of the rolls, writs and memoranda from the treasury in the Tower, to that city.[102] Seven years afterwards, an order was given for removing all the rolls of Chancery from the house of John de Saint Paul, their then keeper, into the Tower, where they were to remain under the custody of William de Kyldesby; and, after a short interval, the said rolls, &c., "in eighteen canvas bags, one leather sack, together with a great hamper, containing numerous indentures, and the keys of certain chests, wherein there were many other rolls, bundles, and memoranda, were delivered to Thomas de Evesham, who had been appointed keeper of the rolls."[103] In 1360, orders were issued for removing the records of Chancery from the *Great Tower*, (which had been then assigned for the residence of John, King of France, and other prisoners,) and for repairing chests, and making new closets for their preservation.[104] In the same year, William Lamhith, clerk of the works in the Tower, was commanded to survey and repair the roof, doors, and windows of the *house* therein, which had been appropriated to the reception of the records;[105] and, in 1362, similar commands were given to William Sleford, for the amendment of all defects in the roof, doors, windows, locks, and keys of the *Tower*, in which the same were deposited.[106]

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[101] This must mean Stratford-le-bow, near London.

[102] Rot. Claus. 7 Edw. III. p. 1. m. 12. dors.

[103] Ibid. 14 Edw. III. p. ii. m. 10. d.

[104] Ibid. 34 Edw. III. m. 33.

[105] Ibid. m. 15.

[106] Ibid. 36 Edw. III. m. 25.

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In the fifth year of the reign of King Richard the Second, William de Burstall, Keeper of the Rolls of Chancery, delivered to John de Waltham, his successor in office, all the records that were in his custody :[107] and, ten years afterwards, certain persons were appointed to superintend the conveyance of the same from the Tower to York, where the Parliament then sat, and back again.[108] During several succeeding reigns, various orders were issued for the conveyance of the records, but whence, or to what place, we are uninformed. Regulations were also made for the prevention of the erasure, falsification, or embezzlement of the same: and keepers were successively appointed; but, previously to the time of Queen Elizabeth, few measures were adopted to render them beneficial to the public.

In that reign, however, Mr. *William Bowyer*, the Keeper of the Records in the Tower, "first reduced them into good order, and then digested and made repertories to them. This compilation was contained in six large volumes, folio; and, in forming it, the author spent eight years, and above £1000 of his own money. The fruits of this laborious man's industry are not now to be found, but when or how lost, is unknown."[109] One of Bowyer's immediate successors, was *William Lambard*, usually called "the handsome man of Kent." This gentleman having, shortly after his appointment, compiled a

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[107] A Schedule of the Records then made, is still in the Tower, and corresponds, in a remarkable degree, with the documents now preserved there.—Bayley's Hist. Vol. i. p. 238.

[108] Rot. Pat. 15 Ric. II. m. 7, and Rot. Claus. 16 Ric. II. m. 10.

[109] Reports from the Commissioners of Public Records, Vol. ii. p. 116.

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Kalendar of the records under his charge, entrusted it to the Countess of Warwick to be presented to the Queen. Her majesty declined receiving it from the Countess, but desired that Lambard would deliver it in person. On that occasion, Elizabeth thus graciously expressed herself:—"You intended to present this booke unto mee by the Countice of Warwicke, but I will none of that; for, if any subject of myne, do mee a service, I will thankfully accept it from his owne hands." She then questioned Lambard as to the names of the different rolls, observing "that shee would be a scholler in her age, and thought it no scorne to learne during her life, being of the minde of that philosopher, who in his last yeares began with the Greek alphabet." She afterwards inquired whether *Redisseisines* were not wrongful and forcible throwing of men out of their lawful possessions? and, on being answered in the affirmative, remarked that "in former days, force and arms did prevaile, but now the wit of the fox is every where on foote, so as hardly a faithful or virtuous man may be found." She then commended the work, and being called away to prayers, put the manuscript into her bosom, saying "farewell good and honest Lambard."

Lambard died in 1602, and after the successive appointments of Sir Roger Wilbraham, Robert Bowyer, Henry Elsing, and Sir John Borough, afterwards Garter King at Arms, the office of Keeper of the Records was, in 1643, conferred by the Parliament on *John Selden*, one of the most learned and industrious antiquaries of the age. On the restoration of Charles the Second, Selden being then dead, that monarch was asked what should be done with *Prynne*, who, although "he had opposed Charles the First, the army, and Cromwell,

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when he considered them as betrayers of their country," had given his strenuous support in effecting the Restoration. "Let him amuse himself with writing against the Catholics, and in poring over the Records in the Tower," replied the King. The custody of the Records was, therefore, given to him, with a yearly salary of £500. Notwithstanding Prynne's indefatigable research into our Charter Antiquities, we are not informed that he effected any beneficial alteration in the arrangement of the documents entrusted to his care; indeed, the great extent and number of his voluminous writings could have left him but little leisure to attend to the minute duties of his office.

Prynne died in 1669, and was succeeded by *Sir Algernon Sydney* who, although he zealously exerted himself in repairing, arranging, and indexing the records, was so ill requited by government, that, in 1681, he presented a memorial to a committee of the House of Lords, stating, that there was then due to him, on account of his salary, upwards of three thousand pounds.[110] He resigned his office in 1702, in favour of *William Petyt*, Esquire, a gentleman well versed in the history and antiquities of his country. According to Strype, he was "a strong asserter of the liberties of England, and how well he acquitted himself therein, his books printed against Dr. Brady do shew. He did for many years employ his clerks in making extracts of such rolls lying in the office of which he was keeper, as might be of public use to be known and read in these times, as they let in light into the affairs of the state or the

[110] Bayley's History of the Tower, Vol. i. p. 257, from the Buckingham MSS. at Stowe.

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church."[111] These, together with many others of his manuscript collections, are now preserved in the Library of the Inner Temple, to which, previously to his death, in 1707, he had bequeathed them.

About this time, Charles, Lord Halifax, directed the attention of Parliament to the state of the records in the Tower and in other offices. Measures were consequently adopted for collecting and arranging them in chronological order, and for repairing the apartments in which they were deposited. To these desirable objects, Richard Topham, David Polhill, William Hay, Sir John Shelley, and Thomas Astle, author of "The History of Writing," the successive keepers of the Records, have mainly contributed; but it was not until the appointment of Commissioners for examining into and reporting on the state of these national archives in 1800, and the subsequent publication of Kalendars, that they became generally available to public uses.

At the commencement of the year 1804, the Records in the Tower were entrusted to the custody of the late *Samuel Lysons,* Esquire, who not only actively fulfilled the duties of his office, but has left to posterity numerous publications, as remarkable for their variety, as for their utility. Amongst these may be enumerated a folio volume on "*Gloucestershire Antiquities;*" a large and handsome work, on the Roman Remains discovered at *Wood-Chester,* and descriptions of many Roman Antiquities found at *Horkstow, Bath, Bignor,* &c. In conjunction with his brother, the Reverend Daniel Lysons, he commenced that valuable topographical work, the "Magna Britannia," which developed the history and

[111] Stow's Survey of London, by Strype, Vol. i. p. 120.

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antiquities of nine English counties; but this valuable publication is now unfortunately suspended.

To Mr. Lysons succeeded, in 1819, as Keeper of the Records, *Henry Petrie*, Esquire, who has given various evidences of his peculiar qualification for this important public trust.

The earliest Records now remaining in the Tower are forty-one rolls, termed "*Chartæ Antiquæ*," being a collection of grants, extending from the reign of King Edward the Confessor to the commencement of the thirteenth century.

"The *grand series of the Rolls of Chancery*" begins in the first year of King John, and continues to the last of Edward the Fourth. These rolls, with the exception of a few, in the former reign, are generally perfect, and are ranged in presses, in chronological order. Their number is about 2200; of their contents, some idea may be formed from the following analysis, alphabetically arranged, and derived from Mr. Bayley's History of the Tower.

The *Almain Rolls*,—commencing in the twenty-second year of Edward the First, and ending in the fifteenth year of Edward the Third, have reference to the negotiations and alliances formed between those monarchs and the continental Princes and Nobles.

The *Charter Rolls*,—from the first of King John to the death of Edward the Fourth, contain grants to Corporations, or private individuals, of liberties, privileges, and possessions. An index to these has been printed by the Commissioners on public records.

The *Close Rolls*,—which begin in the sixth of King John, and are continued to the end of Edward the Fourth's reign, may be ranked among the most curious

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and valuable of our national records. Their contents are so various, that it is difficult to give an adequate idea of the vast fund of information which they contain. On the face of the rolls are entered numerous statements relative to the royal prerogative, the revenue, and the courts of judicature:—orders respecting truces, treaties, subsidies, restitution of possessions, assignments of dower, acceptances of homage, and the repairing, fortifying, and provisioning of fortresses:—writs and mandates touching the coin, payment of the salaries of the royal household, the imprisonment, or release of prisoners, &c. On the backs are summonses to, and prorogations of Parliaments; writs of summons for the performance of military and naval services; copies of letters to foreign princes and states; proclamations; prohibitions; orders for regulating the sale of various articles; for the raising or payment of forces; for the liveries and seisins of lands; enrolments of private deeds, &c.

Conventiones Pacis,—a roll of the forty-third year of King Henry the Third, containing treaties between that King and Louis of France; negotiations relative to the union of Beatrice, daughter of Henry the Second, with John, eldest son of the Duke of Bretagne; and a variety of information as to a dispute with the Earl and Countess of Leicester.

The *Coronation Rolls* contain an account of the proceedings at the Coronation of Edward the Second, and of the claims and allowances at those of Richard the Second, and of the Fourth and Fifth Henries.

The *Extracta Donationum*, commencing in the third year of Edward the Second, and terminating in the

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twenty-fifth of his successor, are extracts of gifts and grants made during the intervening period.

The *Fine Rolls*, or accounts of Fines paid on the passing or renewing of charters or grants, or for discharges from the performance of services due to the crown, are extant from the sixth year of King John, to the death of Edward the Fourth.

The *French Rolls* have reference to transactions between the Kings of England and France, from the sixteenth of Henry the Third, to the last year of Edward the Fourth.

The *Gascoign Rolls*, relative to affairs of that Duchy, commence ten years later, but extend to the same date.

The *Liberate Rolls* contain mandates to the Treasurer and other officers of the Exchequer, for the payment of pensions, salaries, &c. and of the expenses incident to the royal household. These begin in the second year of King John, and terminate at the death of Edward the Fourth.

The *Norman Rolls* bear reference to the affairs of the Duchy of Normandy, in the second, fourth, and sixth years of King John, and during the reign of Henry the Fifth.

The *Rolls of Parliament*, consisting chiefly of petitions and returns to the great Council of the nation, commence with the fifth year of Edward the Second, and end with the reign of Edward the Fourth. These were printed, by order of government, in the early part of the reign of George the Third.

The *Patent Rolls* contain grants of various kinds; restitutions of the temporalities of religious houses; licences of alienation; confirmations of charters; appoint-

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ments of officers; letters of protection and safe conduct; creations of nobility, &c. from the third of King John to the end of the reign of Edward the Fourth. A very imperfect kalendar of the contents of these rolls was published by the Record Commissioners, in 1802.

The *Perambulation Rolls* specify the bounds and limits of the woods and forests of England, as surveyed in the seventh, twenty-eighth, and twenty-ninth years of King Edward the First.

The *Redisseisin Rolls* bear the entries of writs to Sheriffs, and their proceedings, concerning the restitution of property to persons who had been unlawfully dispossessed, from the fourteenth of Edward the First, to the thirty-ninth of Henry the Sixth.

The *Roman Rolls* consist of letters to the Pope and Cardinals, relative to the ecclesiastical affairs of this kingdom, from the thirty-fourth year of Edward the First to the death of Edward the Fourth.

The *Scotch Rolls* relating to the affairs of Scotland, from the nineteenth of Edward the First, to the same period, have recently been printed by the Commissioners of Public Records.

The *Statute Rolls*, commencing with the Statute of Gloucester, passed in the sixth of Edward the First, and continued to the ninth of Edward the Fourth, have also been printed by the direction of the Record Commissioners.

Treaties and Truces.—These are distinct Rolls, of the fourteenth and eighteenth years of Edward the First, the thirty-fourth of Edward the Third, and the fourteenth of Edward the Fourth. Their contents are chiefly negotiations with foreign powers, most of which are printed in the *Fœdera*.

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The *Welsh Rolls* have reference to the affairs of the Principality of Wales, from the tenth to the twenty-third year of Edward the First.

There are also in the Tower a vast variety of other records, equally important in their contents. Among these are the "*Inquisitiones post mortem*," or surveys and valuations of the property of persons, deceased, made by the Sheriffs of Counties, from the commencement of Henry the Third's reign, to the end of that of Richard the Third; —"*Inquisitiones ad quod damnum*," taken when a person wished to alienate land, with a view of ascertaining whether such alienation would be prejudicial to any one;—writs and returns of members to Parliament;—the Hundred rolls and forest claims;—the taxation roll of Ecclesiastical benefices, made during the Pontificate of Pope Nicholas the Fourth, 1292;—treaties of peace;—letters from and to foreign princes;—papal bulls;—warrants of various kinds;—bills, answers, and depositions in the Court of Chancery to the year 1714:—the records of the Court of Admiralty to the commencement of the present century; and innumerable miscellaneous documents, of various description.

Immediately adjoining to the Record Office, is the massive portal, called

THE BLOODY TOWER,

Beneath which is the main entrance into the inner ward: this forms a noble example of the strength and solidity which characterized the fortified gate-ways of past ages. In the Survey of Henry the Eighth's reign, this building, from its contiguity to the *Garden* attached to the "Lieutenant's Lodgings," (now incorporated with the

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Parade,) was designated the "*Garden Tower*;" but in the "Exact Draught," of the year 1597, it is called the "*Bloody Tower*," though from what circumstance has never been explained.

Not the least credit is due to the legend which represents this Tower as the scene of the murder of Edward the Fifth and the Duke of York;[112] nor yet to the tale of the bones of those ill-fated youths having been found, in Charles the Second's reign, beneath the little stair-case that leads to the gloomy chambers of the super-structure. That bones were found, is true; yet the discovery was not made here, but at the depth of several feet below the stairs leading to the Chapel in the *White Tower*.[113] The propriety of assigning those remains to the young Princes, was, in the highest degree, questionable.

The bold and substantial character of the *Gate-way* of this Tower, which is about thirty-four feet in depth, and fifteen feet wide, will be appreciated from the annexed print, which represents it as seen from the outer ward. The portcullis and massive gates, at the south end, still remain, and are evidently of great age; but those which were on the northern side have been removed. In the vaulting, great strength is apparent: the spreading tracery of the groins form two divisions, of which the central portions spring from corbels of lions' heads. This is the only rectangular Tower belonging to the inner ward: in the upper part is a space for working the portcullis.

From the Bloody Tower, the ballium wall is continued westward to the *Bell Tower*, which has been described in the preceding chapter.

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[112] Vide Chapter i. pp. 40—50.

[113] Kennet's Complete History of England, Vol. i. p. 551.

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CHAPTER VI.

GENERAL PARTICULARS OF THE ANCIENT TOWERS CONNECTED WITH THE OUTER WARD.—ENUMERATION OF BATTERIES.—THE MINT.—ROYAL MENAGERIE.—GARRISON AND PARADE.—MISCELLANEOUS INFORMATION.

The ancient defences of the Outer Ward, independently of its lofty rampart and surrounding moat, consisted, principally, of the Bulwark Gate, at the entrance from Tower Hill; the Lion's Tower; the Martin Tower; the Byward Tower; St. Thomas's Tower; the Cradle Tower; the Well Tower; and the Iron-Gate Tower.—Of the *Bulwark* and the *Lion's Tower*, nothing of consequence remains: the site of the latter is now occupied by the buildings and yards of the Menagerie.

The entrance to the principal bridge across the moat, from the west, is protected by a strong portal, called

THE MARTIN TOWER,

Which consists of an arched gate-way, flanked by round towers. The lower portion is nearly in its original state, but the upper part has been re-built. In each tower, on the basement floor, is an octangular apart-

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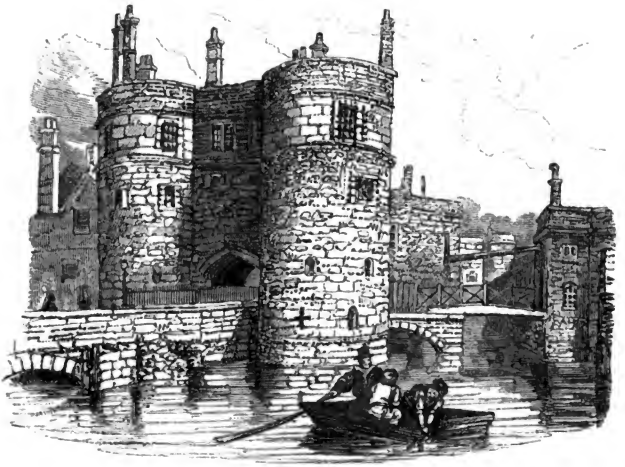

The By-Ward Tower.

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ment, about sixteen feet in diameter, the vaulting of which is supported by massive ribs, springing from small columns, and converging to the centre, where they unite. These apartments were the ancient guard-rooms, or warders' lodges. The passage was originally secured by a portcullis, as well as by strong gates; but the former has been removed. Over the western arch, is a large sculpture of the royal arms and supporters, probably of James the First's reign. This Tower is now used as the garrison hospital.

At the east end of the bridge is

THE BY-WARD TOWER,

Which occupies the south-west angle of the outer ward, and almost exactly corresponds with the Martin Tower, in its general form, and the style of its architecture. The upper walls are comparatively of modern date; but, in other respects, this Tower retains, in a great degree, its original character. On each basement floor, is a vaulted octangular guard-room, of similar design to those in the Martin Tower. The arched recesses of the loop-holes are acutely pointed; and in each apartment is an ancient stone fire-place, nearly perfect. A portcullis and massive gates protected this avenue, which forms the principal entrance to the exterior ward. In the annexed cut, the south-west side of this Tower is shewn, together with the principal bridge, and also a small pull-bridge, which has been recently constructed in place of an old draw-bridge, that communicated with the wharf, or platform.

At a few yards from the By-ward Tower, on the right, is an ancient passage leading to the bridge just men-

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tioned. This is represented in the accompanying print, which accurately displays its architectural character and design.

ST. THOMAS'S TOWER, OR THE TRAITORS' GATE.

This Tower stands over the moat, near the middle part of the southern wall, and has, under it, secured by strong double gates, an arched channel, which communicates with the river Thames by a passage beneath the wharf. In former times, it was usual to convey state delinquents into the fortress through this avenue, and hence the secondary appellation of *Traitors' Gate.*

This is a large rectangular edifice, the outer line of which is strengthened by two circular towers, projecting from the south-east and south-west angles. These towers have been very little altered, and interiorly exhibit some interesting examples of the early pointed architecture of Henry the Third's reign. Within each tower are two little vaulted apartments of a sexagonal form, and corresponding in dimensions, their greatest width being nine feet. The ribs of the vaulting rise from the capitals of small round columns.[114]

This Tower is now appropriated to the raising of water, and contains a steam engine, water wheel, and other machinery. In the annexed view from the draw-bridge, the eastern side of the building is shewn, together with a long range of the outer rampart, and the upper part of the Ordnance Office.

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[114] In the "Vetusta Monumenta," Pl. lii. is a plan, section, and perspective view of one of these apartments, in the south-west tower.

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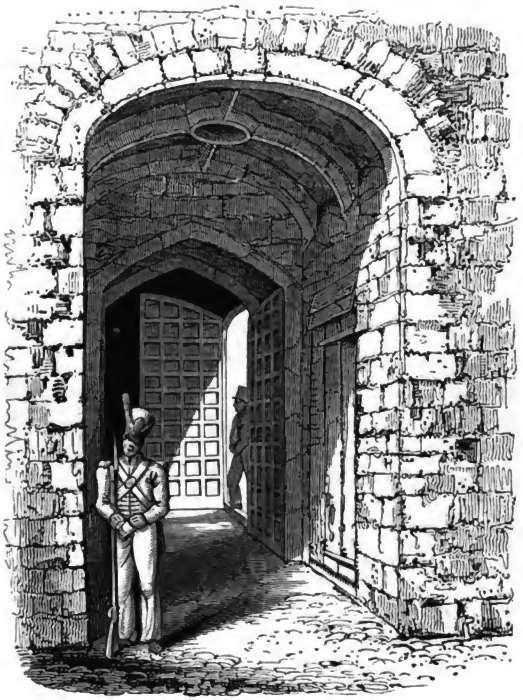

Door way near the By-Ward Tower, and communication to the Wharf.

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View from the Drawbridge shewing the Traitor's Gate.

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THE CRADLE TOWER,

Which was the next upon the south-eastern line, consists, at the present time, of little more than a vaulted gate-way, the upper part having been long destroyed. The arch-way, which communicates with the eastern draw-bridge, is about eight feet wide, and has been defended by a portcullis and gates. On either side is a small chamber, anciently used as a warder's lodge, or guard-room.

The next fortification on this line was

THE WELL TOWER,

But that, like the Cradle Tower, has long been curtailed "of its fair proportions;" and all that now remains of its ancient masonry is the lower part. In this is a small room, about fifteen feet by ten feet, receiving light from narrow loop-holes.

THE IRON GATE TOWER.

In the "Perticular of the names of the Towers," already given, this Tower is described as "an old ruynous place;"[115] and there is now scarcely a remain of the original structure. Its site is occupied by a small embattled edifice of stone. This Tower stood at the south-east angle of the outer inclosure, and, in the Elizabethan Survey, is called the "*Tower leading to the Iron Gate.*" There was also, as appears by the same

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[115] Vide antea, p. 227.

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Survey, a "*Tower above y^e^ Iron Gate*," but not the least vestige either of the gate or tower now exists.

Since the great change effected in the art of military defence, by the invention of cannon, the outer rampart of this fortress has been studded with

BATTERIES.

These are eight in number, the situation, names, and strength of which are as follow:—

South side.—1. *Recess Bridge Guard* battery, two carronades, 12-pounders. 2. *Seven-Gun* battery, seven carronades, 24-pounders. 3. South-east angle, *Devil's* battery, three carronades, 12-pounders, 4. *Recess East Ditch* battery, one carronade, 12-pounder. North-east angle, 5. *Old Stone* battery, seven carronades, 24-pounders, and one brass gun, medium 12-pounder. 6. *Curtain* battery, one carronade, 12-pounder. North-west angle, 7. *New Stone* battery, six carronades, 24 pounders; this, from the platform, being of wood, was formerly called the *Wooden* battery, but after a new platform of stone had been laid, about four years ago, that name was changed. 8. *Curtain West Ditch* battery, two carronades, 12-pounders.—A brass 12-pounder, on a carriage, is also stationed near the base of the Bell Tower, at the entrance of *Mint* Street, which is the local appellation of the western avenue between the inner and outer wards. Along the edge of the rampart, guarded by a parapet wall, there is an almost uninterrupted communication round the fortress; but with occasional breaks near the batteries.

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THE MINT.

The Royal, or National *Mint*, was formerly an appendage to the Tower, and appears to have been established there in or before the time of Edward I., when, according to Madox, there were no less than thirty furnaces employed. The privilege of coining was frequently granted to corporate and ecclesiastical bodies, and to private noblemen; which occasioning great inconvenience, it was enacted in the time of Queen Elizabeth, that all the provincial Mints should be suppressed, and no coinage allowed but at the Royal Mint, in the Tower. This law, with the exceptions of two cases of emergency, in the times of Charles the First, and William the Third, was observed until about twenty years ago, when, in consequence of the vast increase of business in this department, arising from the augmented population of the country, and other causes, the government gave orders for a new *Mint*, upon a large scale, to be erected on the north-east side of Tower Hill. That edifice has been provided with every accommodation to facilitate and give security to the operations of coining; and the scattered and inconvenient buildings within the Tower, in which the business was formerly transacted, have been converted into barracks and store-houses.

THE ROYAL MENAGERIE.

Although the keeping and domesticating of wild animals for show, or for amusement, has been, from the earliest ages, a favourite pursuit with the rulers of almost every nation, whether uncivilized or cultivated, it does not appear that any part of the Tower of London was

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appropriated to the purposes of a *Menagerie*, until the year 1235, when Henry the Third, according to Stow, placed in it three *Leopards*, which had been sent to him by the Emperor Frederick, in allusion to "his regall shield of armes, wherein 3 Leopards were pictured."[115] The same monarch, in 1251, by a mandate directed to the Sheriffs of London, commanded them to allow fourpence per day, for the sustenance of a *White Bear*, (and his keeper,) which he had received from Norway. In the following year, by another mandate, the Sheriffs were ordered to provide a muzzle and an iron chain, to secure this bear, when out of the water, and a long and stout cord, to hold him when fishing in the river Thames:—"*et unam longam et fortem cordam ad tenendum eundem ursum piscantem in aquâ Thamisiæ.*[116]

In 1255, "Lewis, the French king, sent unto King Henrie, for a present, an *Elephant*, a beast most strange and wonderfull to the English people, sith most seldome or neuer any of that kind had beene seene in England before that time."[117] On the arrival of this animal in London, the Sheriffs were commanded, without delay, to cause a house, forty feet long and twenty feet wide, to be built in the Tower for its reception:—and, in the ensuing October, they were also directed to provide every thing necessary for the said Elephant and his keeper.[118]

In the Liberate and Close rolls of the three succeed-

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[115] Stow's Survey of London, p. 77, edit. 1618.

[116] Madox's History of the Exchequer, Vol. i. p. 376, from the Liberate roll, anno 37 Hen. III. m. 15.

[117] Holinshed's Chronicles, Vol. ii. p. 435, edit. 1807; and Matthew Paris, sub anno 1255.

[118] Madox ut supra, p. 377.

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ing reigns, frequent mention is made "of the King's lions, leopards, bears, and other wild animals, kept in the Tower."[119] From those documents we also learn, that in 1314, King Edward the Second commanded the Sheriffs of London to make a daily provision of one quarter of mutton, for his lion, and to pay to its keeper three halfpence per day. Several other writs, of the same reign, are also extant, whereby the civic officers are directed to allow sixpence per day for the lion, the like sum for the leopard, and three halfpence for their respective keepers:[120]—but, by a mandate issued in 1318, it appears that £9 : 7s. 6d. was then due for the maintenance of the animals and keepers above-mentioned.[121]

Edward the Third, in the eleventh year of his reign, gave directions for the payment of a sum of money, due to "Berenger Candrer, keeper of the Lions and Leopards" in the Tower, after the rate of twelve pence per day, for his wages, and two shillings and a penny for the maintenance of the beasts under his charge.[122] Five years afterwards, the office of keeper was granted to Robert, the son of John Bowre, when "one Lion, one Lioness, one Leopard, and two Cattes Lions were entrusted to his charge."[123] In succeeding reigns, the custody of the "Lions and Leopards," for these were the chief beasts kept in the Menagerie, became an office of consequence, and was successively granted, by King Henry the Sixth, to Robert Mansfield, Esquire, the Mar-

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[119] Bayley's History of the Tower, Vol. i. p. 270.

[120] Ibid.

[121] Madox's Hist. of the Exchequer, p. 381.

[122] Rot. Orig. Aº 11, Edw. III. r. 37.

[123] Stow's Survey of London, p. 77, edit. 1618.

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shall of his Hall, and Thomas Rookes, his dapifer :[124]— yet we are informed, that in the early part of his reign, viz. in 1436, there "deyde alle the lyons that weren in the Tour of London, the whiche was nought sen in no mannys tyme before out of mynde."[125]

Edward the Fourth granted the office of keeper, to Ralph Hastings, Esquire; Richard the Third gave it to Sir Robert Brackenbury, Lieutenant of the Tower; and Henry the Seventh conferred it, together with the Constabulary of the same fortress, on John Tiptoft, Earl of Oxford.[126] Who held the office under Henry the Eighth, is uncertain, but amongst that monarch's "Privy Purse Expenses" for February, 1532, is this item:—"paied to an Almayner for bringing of a lion to the kinges grace, vi. *li.* xiii *s.* iiij. *d.*"[127]

Under Queen Elizabeth, the charge of the Menagerie was entrusted to a distinct officer, and the yearly fee of the "keeper of the lyons and other strainge beasts in the Toure," was £36: 14s. 6d.[128] It is stated that, during the Queen's last illness, an old lion in the Tower, which bore her name, pined away and died;—this was considered as a prognostication of her Majesty's decease.[129]

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[124] Bayley's History of the Tower, Vol. i. p. 270, from the Patent Rolls.

[125] Chronicle of London from 1089 to 1483, 4to. 1827, p. 123.

[126] Bayley's Hist. of the Tower, Vol. i. p. 271.

[127] Privy Purse Expenses of Hen. VIII. ed. by Nicolas, p. 193.

[128] Peck's Desiderata Curiosa, Vol. i. p. 68.

[129] Ellis's Original Letters, 2nd series, Vol. iii. p. 195.—Strype, also, mentions a Lion that died two days before the decease of Charles the Second, and whose skin, stuffed, was, in his time, kept in the menagerie.—Strype's Stow, Vol. i. p. 119, edit. 1720.

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James the First not only made additions to the collection of animals in the Tower, but also frequently resorted to that menagerie both to amuse himself with the beasts, and to witness the barbarous sport of baiting the lions with dogs. It is particularly recorded by Howes, that on the 13th of March, 1603-4, whilst the King was lodging in the Tower, he was "told of the Lions," and, after some inquiries, and in order to try the courage of the English mastiff, he "caused Edward Alleyn, now sworne the Prince's man, and master of the Beare Garden, to fetch secretly three of the fiercest dogs in the garden." When the dogs were brought,

"The King, Queene, and Prince, with four or five Lords, went to the *Lions' towre*, and caused the lustiest lion to be separated from his mate, and put into the lion's den one dog alone, who presently flew to the face of the lion, but, the lion suddenly shooke him off, and graspt him fast by the neck drawing the dog up staires and downe staires. The King, now perceiving the lion greatly exceede the dog in strength, but nothing in noble heart and courage, caused another dog to be put into the denne, who prooved as hot and lusty as his fellow, and tooke the lion by the face, but the lion began to deale with him as with the former; whereupon the King commanded the third dog to be put in, before the second dog was spoiled, which third dog, more fierce and fell than eyther of the former, and in despite eyther of clawes or strength, tooke the lion by the lip, but the lion so tore the dog by the eyes, head, and face, that he lost his hold, and then the lion tooke the dog's necke in his mouth, drawing him up and downe as he did the former, but being wearied could not bite so deadly as at the first; now whilest the last dog was thus hand to hand with the lion in the upper roome, the other two dogs were fighting together in the lower roome, whereupon the King caused the lion to be driven downe, thinking the lion would have parted them, but when he saw he must needs come by them, he leaped cleane over them both, and contrary to the Kinge's expectation, the lion fled into an inward den, and would

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not by any meanes endure the presence of the dogs; albeit the last dog pursued egerly, but could not finde the way to the lyon. You shall understand the two last dogs, whilest the lion held them both under his pawes, did bite the lion by the belly, whereat the lion roared so extreamely, that the earth shooke withall, and the next lion rampt and roared as if he would have made rescue."

The two dogs which had been first engaged in this combat died within a few days, but the third recovered.[130]

In the same work, are the following particulars respecting the Menagerie, and of a second visit made by King James to the Lions' den, in June, 1605.

"In the spring of this yeare the Kinge builded a wall, and filled up with earth all that part of the mote or ditch about the West sid of the Lion's den, and appoynted a drawing partition to be made towards the South part thereof, the one part thereof to serve for the breeding Lionesse when she shall have whelps, and the other part thereof for a walke for other Lions. The Kinge caused also three trap doores to bee made in the wall of the Lyon's den, for the Lyons to goe into their walke at the pleasure of the keeper, which walke shall bee maintayned and kept for especiall place to baight the Lyons with dogges, beares, bulles, bores, &c. —Munday, June 3, in the afternoone, his Majestie, beeing accompanied with the Duke of Lenox, the Earles of Worcester, Pembroke, Southampton, Suffolke, Devonshire, Salisbury, and Mountgomery, and Lord Heskin, Captayne of his Highnesse Guarde, with many Knights and Gentlemen of name, came to the Lyons tower, and, for that time, was placed over the platforme of the Lyons, because as yet, the two galleries were not builded, the one of them for the King and great Lords, and the other for speciall personages.

"The King being placed as aforesayde, commaunded Master Raph Gyll, Keeper of the Lyons, that his servants should put forth into the walke the male and female breeders, but the Lyons woulde not goe out by any ordinary meanes that could be used, neither would they come neere the trap doore untill they were forced

[130] Howes's Chronicle, sub. anno. 1604.

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out with burning linkes, and when they were come downe into the walke, they were both amazed, and stood looking about them, and gazing up into the ayre; then was there two rackes of mutton throwne unto them, which they did presently eate; then was there a lusty live cocke cast unto them, which they presently killed and sucked his bloud; then was there another live cocke cast unto them, which they likewise killed, but sucked not his blood. After that the Kinge caused a live lambe to he easily let downe unto them by a rope, and being come to the grounde, the lambe lay upon his knees, and both the Lyons stoode in their former places, and only beheld the lamb, but presently the lambe rose up and went unto the Lyons, who very gently looked uppon him and smelled on him without signe of ary further hurt; then the lambe was very softly drawne up againe in as good plight as hee was let downe.

"Then they caused those Lyons to be put into their denne, and another male Lyon only to be put forth, and two lusty mastiffes, at a by doore, to be let in to him, and they flew fiercely uppon him, and perceiving the Lyon's necke to be so defended with hayre they could not hurt him, sought onely to bite him by the face, and did so; then was there a third dogge let in as fierce as the fiercest one of them, a brended dogge tooke the Lyon by the face, and turned him uppon his backe; but the Lyon spoyled them all, the best dogge died the next day."—

Another combat was exhibited on the 23rd June, 1609, when King James, and all his family, with divers noblemen and many others, assembled in the Tower "to see a trial of the Lyon's single valour against a great fierce Beare, who had killed a child that was negligently left in the beare-house," yet neither "the great Lyon," which was first "put forth," nor "divers other Lyons," nor "the two young lustie Lions, which were bred in that yard, and were now grown great," could be induced to fight, but all "sought the next way into their dennes, as soone as they espied the trap-doores open." A stone-horse, however, which had been turned into the same

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yard, would have been worried to death by six dogs, had not the King commanded the bear-wards to rescue him. About a fortnight afterwards, the Bear was baited to death upon a stage, by the King's order, "and unto the mother of the murthered child was given twenty pounds out of the money which the people gave to see the bear kil'd."[131]

On the 20th of April, 1610, Prince Henry, with his cousin, Frederick Ulric, son of the Duke of Brunswick, accompanied by several noblemen and other persons, "came privatly to the Tower, and caused the great Lion to be put into the yard, and four doggs at a course to be set upon him:—

"These were choise dogs, and flew al at the Lion's head, whereat the Lion became enraged and furiously bit divers dogges by the head and throat, holding their heads and necks in his mouth, as a cat doth hould a rat;—al which notwithstanding, many of them would not let go their hould, untill they were utterly spoiled. After divers courses and spoyle of divers doggs, and great likelihood of spoile of more, the Beare-wards set a lustie dogge uppon the mouth of the Lyon, which last dog, siezing the Lyon's tung, pulled it out of his mouth, and held it so fast that the Lyon neither bitte him nor any other; whereupon it was generally imagined that these doggs would instantly spoile the Lyon, he being now out of breath, and bar'd from biting:—"

The "young lusty Lyon and Lyonesse," which had been whelped in the menagerie, were now "put out together, to see if they would rescue the third, but they would not, but fearfully gazed upon the doggs;" and were, at last, chased into their den. All the dogs, except one, were then taken from the Lion, "who having

[131] Howes's Chronicle, sub anno 1609.

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fought long, and his tongue torn, lay staring and panting a pretie while, so as all the behoulders thought he had been utterly spoiled and spent; but upon a sodaine, he gazed upon that dog which remained, and as soon as he had spoiled him, espying the trap-doore open, ran hastilie into his den, and whilest he was hot he would never offer to lie downe, but walked too and fro."[132]

From Howel's "Londinopolis," published in 1657, we learn that there were then in the Tower, six lions; but no allusion is made to any other animals. According to Strype, there were eleven lions, two leopards, or tigers, three eagles, two owls, two cats of the mountain, and a jackal, in this menagerie, in 1708. Maitland enumerates, amongst its contents in 1754, two lions, two bears, three tigers, a leopard, two man-tygers, two Egyptian night-walkers, two apes, from Turkey, a racoon, from Guinea, a jackal, and a tiger cat; the birds were an ostrich, several eagles, and a horned owl.

The public were admitted to see the wild beasts in the Tower from a very early period, and a *Visit to the Lions* was regarded, by our fore-fathers, as a holiday recreation for their children. But, after itinerant menageries were formed, that custom fell into gradual disuse, as may be inferred from the following curious advertisement, which, so long ago as the year 1697, was issued from the Tower :—

"All persons whom it may concern, are desired to take notice, That the Master-keeper of his Majesty's Lion-office, in the Tower of London, is informed, that several persons do expose to publick view several wild beasts, against his Majesty's prerogative-royal, and a prohibition given and published to the contrary,

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[132] Howes's Chronicle, sub anno 1610.

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as in the following,—'That no person whatsoever, (except Thomas Dymocke, and the keeper of his Majesty's Lions for the time being,) do for the future carry abroad, or expose to publick view, for their own private gain, any lions, lionesses, leopards, or any other beasts which are *ferœ natura*,' as they will answer the contrary at their perils."—

In the subsequent part of this advertisement it was announced, that a convenient place had been made for shewing an hyena, brought from Aleppo,—"the beast never seen in England before; he hath such great strength, that he breaks the biggest of ox-bones, and eats them;"—and that the large lioness and the jackal, presented to his Majesty by the Earl of Oxford, with the large tiger, from the East Indies, were also to be seen at the Lion-office.[133]

During the thirty or forty years immediately preceding the appointment of Mr. Alfred Cops, the present keeper, in 1822, this Menagerie excited little interest; for, either from neglect or inexperience, the collection had greatly decreased. Except a bird or two, the whole stock, at that time, was reduced to an elephant and a grizzly bear; the latter of which had been presented to his late Majesty by the Hudson's Bay Company, in 1811, and is yet living. Owing, however, to the spirited exertions of Mr. Cops, and the better management which he has introduced, the collection, in its present state, includes upwards of sixty specimens of beasts and birds, independently of the snake and monkey tribes, which are very numerous. These animals are confined in two yards, in a double tier of dens, strongly barred, except those re-

[133] Malcolm's "Manners and Customs of London," Vol. i. p. 397, 2nd edit.

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quiring greater warmth, which are kept within doors. In the first yard, the dens are disposed in a semicircular building, which, though now faced with brick, and otherwise altered, is apparently a remain of an ancient Tower, the back wall being at least seven feet in thickness. About three years ago, Mr. Cops erected a large room, seventy feet in length, (in place of some stabling, &c.,) for the birds and graminivorous animals. The carnivorous beasts are mostly kept in the dens of the outer-yard.

Besides the grizzly bear, above-mentioned, there are two other bears in this collection belonging to his Majesty, and also the following animals and birds, viz. :—a Bengal lion, (presented with a lioness, now dead, by General Watson, who brought them to England in 1829), and his three cubs, which were whelped in the Tower on the 20th of October, 1827, and have now attained to a considerable size ; a Barbary lioness, (presented by the Emperor of Morocco ;) three African blood-hounds, (presented by the late unfortunate Major Denham, which are ranged on eith r side of this apartment ; a jackall ; a mungoss ; a kangaroo ; two monkeys ; a mouflon ; an elk, or rather a Sambo deer ; a coati-mundi ; a tiger-cat ; two leopards ; four emeus ; a curassow ; two eagles ; and some smaller birds.

Of the other animals, which are the property of the keeper, the following are the principal, viz.—three Cape lions and a lioness, a tiger, from the Queda Coast ; a large Bengal tigress ; two Asiatic leopards ; a puma ; an ocelot ; a caracal ; a striped hyæna ; two spotted hyænas ; a zebra ; two nylghaus ; an adjutant, or gigantic crane ; a very large porcupine ; a sea-eagle ; a golden eagle ; a bearded griffin ; a griffin vulture ; peli-

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cans, macaws, and parrots; a small alligator; an Indian boa serpent; an anaconda serpent; a harlequin snake; and numerous rattle and other snakes.[134]

GARRISON, &c.

The GARRISON of the Tower, at the present time, consists of about 590 men and officers; but there are convenient accommodations within the fortress, for about 900 soldiers. The resident governor and commandant is Major Elrington, who has most honourably exercised the duties of that station upwards of twenty years. Since the removal of the Mint, the buildings of that department have mostly been converted either into barracks or store-houses. The *Irish Barrack*, (so called from the Irish Mint,) which is the principal range, is on the eastern side of the fortress, between Julius Cæsar's and the Constable Towers;—the *Old Mint Barrack* is towards the north of the inclosure;—the *Seven-Gun Barrack* is near the battery so called, on the south-east side;—and the *Spur Barrack* is on the south, adjoining the Menagerie, and opposite to the chief entrance into the Tower. Near this entrance, on the left, there is a Guard-room; but the *Main Guard* is a large building, on the western side of the White Tower. The Garrison *Parade*, which

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[134] In the beautiful work on "The Tower Menagerie," mentioned in the Preface, are fifty-eight very admirably-executed wood-cuts of the chief animals in this collection, all which are portraits, drawn from the animals themselves, by Mr. William Harvey. The same artists are engaged in a similar meritorious work in illustration of the contents of the "Zoological Gardens," which is now issuing from the press in monthly numbers.

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was anciently called 'the Green before the Chapel,' was converted to its present use in 1684. On the east side is a gravelled walk, shaded by a double row of lime trees; on the south is the Fort Major, or Governor's House, with two others, respectively occupied by the Yeoman-Porter, and a Yeoman-Warder; on the west is the Beauchamp Tower, with five official residences, one of which is the Chaplain's; and on the north is St. Peter's Chapel.

On the *Terrace*, which adjoins the ballium wall on the eastern side of the enclosure, are two large houses, erected in 1702, for the Surveyor-general, and Store-keeper of the Ordnance: one of them is now divided into suites of apartments for clerks, and the second is used as a Map Office, where the trigonometrical surveys are engraved. Here, also, are four other houses, erected in 1718, inhabited by heads of departments. The *Store-houses*, which occupy various parts of the fortress, are superintended by four clerks, with foremen, store-house men, and labourers attached. The Stores are kept in the most perfect condition. The *Private Buildings* are allotted as residences to the clerks of the Ordnance Office, the Yeoman-Warders, and other persons attached to the garrison. Strangers are not suffered to reside in the Tower without permission being obtained of the Governor, which is seldom granted. In 1821, as appeared from the returns to Parliament, the civil *Population* of this fortress amounted to 463 persons, occupying eighty-four houses, either wholly, or in suites of apartments.

Such are the most distinguished historical events—personal anecdotes—remarkable incidents, and varied circumstances connected with, and appertaining to this

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metropolitan citadel; the diversified annals of which irresistibly awaken many conflicting emotions. In the perpetual revolutions which are produced by time and human improvements, many changes have taken place in the aspect and history of this fortress; and it is barely possible that it may yet be levelled with the ground, and have all its military features obliterated. The Court, the Admiralty, the Horse-Guards, and nearly all the offices of Government, are placed in juxta-position with each other, near the western end of London; and as most of the offices now in the Tower have no immediate relation to, or dependance on, this particular site, it is presumed that they may be removed, and rendered more economical to the public. The present age and times demand every exertion of legislative wisdom; and if this be fully exerted, England will not only maintain its proud pre-eminence over modern nations, but rival the most renowned states of the ancient world.

FINIS.

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INDEX

TO

The Memoirs of the Tower.

ABBREVIATIONS.

Anec.	for	Anecdote.	E.	for	Earl.
Bp.	,,	Bishop.	insc.	,,	inscription.
Ch.	,,	Chapel.	ex.	,,	executed.
D.	,,	Duke.	imp.	,,	imprisoned.
T.	,,	Tower.	Ld.	,,	Lord.
des.	,,	described.			

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